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ABSTRACT

These proceedings contain the following 12 papers on comparative adult education: "Adult Education as Concept and Structure: An Agenda for Research" (Colin Titmus); "Report on the Context and State of Comparative Adult Education and on Four Publications" (Alexander N. Charters); "Comparative Adult Education Research: Methods and Materials" (Dilnawaz A. Siddiqui); "Adult Education and Social Change: A Comparison of Canada and Sweden" (Kjell Rubenson); "Comparative Study of Adult Education Institutions and Organizations between the United States and Japan by the Use of Characteristics Mirroring Analyses" (Alexander N. Charters and Seiichiro Miura); "Andragogy and China: Cross-Cultural Considerations" (Daniel D. Pratt); "Participatory Research: Are Adult Education Graduate Programs Ready for It?" (Beverly Benner Cassara); "A Comparative Analysis of Recent North American Research on Women and Minorities" (Jovita Martin Ross); "Agricultural Extension Worldwide: Socio-Political, Organizational and Programmatic Characteristics" (William M. Rivera); "A Comparative Study of Andragogy (Adult Education) as a Field of Academic Study in the World" (Claude Touchette); "The Adult Education Center in Germany as a Case of Social Change and Cross-Cultural Comparison" (Klaus Harney); and "Adult Education World-Wide--Revisited" (Jost Reischmann). (KC)

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# PAPERS ON COMPARATIVE ADULT EDUCATION

## FROM SESSIONS ORGANIZED BY

## CSRCAE (COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY AND RESEARCH IN COMPARATIVE ADULT EDUCATION)

at the

VIIth World Congress on Comparative Education
Montreal, Canada
June 26-30, 1989

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INTRODUCTION

The Committee for the Study and Research in Comparative Adult Education (CSRCAE) was pleased to be a part of the VIIth World Congress on Comparative Education. In May of 1988 Alexander N. Charters, Chair of CSRCAE, talked with Dr. Douglas Ray, University of Western Ontario, Program Chair, to discuss the possibility of the Committee participating as a Committee in the VIIth World Congress. It was a useful discussion and they agreed to meet at the Conference of the Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE), Budapest 1988. At this conference the format of the CSRCAE sessions was planned.

Alexander N. Charters, Chair, and Robert Koepper, Secretary, took the initiative to plan the sessions. The response was not only positive but enthusiastic. Twelve persons committed themselves to write papers in comparative adult education. Eleven of the persons did appear at the Conference and had papers, duplicated copies in the format indicated in advance. A revised copy of the CSRCAE part of the Congress is included with these Proceedings. Copies of the papers were distributed to the participants in the sessions.

Dr. Beverly Cassara, University of the District of Columbia, agreed to have the papers duplicated and copies

made available for distribution. Alexander N. Charters agreed to get them together and write an introduction. It was also agreed that the authors may wish to publish them - perhaps in a modified form or in some other publication.

It is noted also that the authors did write in accordance with the description and definitions of comparative adult education as used by CSRCAE. It is the observation of the Chair that as a group there was more conformity to the definition than for any other comparative adult education session in the past.

VIIth WORLD CONGRESS OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Universite de Montreal

June 26-30, 1989

Committee on Study and Research in
Comparative Adult Education

CSRCAE Program
(Program as Presented)

Co-chairs: Dr. Alexander N. Charters and Dr. Robert C. Koepper

**CSRCAE Session 1 of 5**

Tuesday, June 27, 1600 to 1730

Session 3.17
Room 4260
Participants: 10

Organizers: Alexander N. Charters and Robert C. Koepper

Chair: Alexander N. Charters, Syracuse University, USA

Meeting of the CSRCAE members, program presentors, and other interested conference participants.

**CSRCAE Session 2 of 5.**

Wednesday, June 28, 8:30 - 10:30.

Session 4.01
Room 3240
Participants: 24

Organizers: Dr. Alexander N. Charters and Dr. Robert C. Koepper

Chair: Dr. Klaus Harney. J.W. Goethe-Universitat, W. Germany

Presentors:

Dr. Alexander N. Charters, Professor Emeritus of Adult Education, USA

Report on the Context and State of Comparative Adult Education and on Four Publications

Dr. Colin Titmus, University of Leeds, UK

Adult Education as Concept and Structure: An Agenda for Research

Dr. Dilnawaz Siddiqui, Clarion University of Pennsylvania, USA

Comparative Adult Education Research: Methods and Materials

CSRCAE Session 3 of 5

Thursday, June 29, 1989, 8:30-10:00 a.m.

Session 8.01
Room 3240
Participants: 22

Organizers: Alexander N. Charters and Robert C. Koepper

Chair: Dr. Beverly Cassara, U. of District of Columbia, USA

Presentors:

Dr. Kjell Rubenson, University of British Columbia, Canada, and Stockholm Institute of Education, Sweden

Adult Education and Social Change: A Comparison of Canada and Sweden

Dr. Seiichiro Miura, Fukuoka National University of Education and Alexander Charters, Syracuse University, USA

Adult Education Institutions and Organizations: A Comparative Study Between Japan and the United States

Dr. Daniel Pratt, U. of British Columbia, Canada

Androgogy and China: Cross Cultural Considerations

CSRCAE Session 4 of 5

Thursday, June 29, 1400-1530

Session 10.27
Room 4205
Participants: 12

Organizers: Alexander N. Charters and Robert C. Koepper

Chair: Dr. Dilnazaz Siddiqui, Clarion University of Pennsylvania, USA.

Presentors:

Dr. Beverly Cassara, U. of District of Columbia, USA.

Participatory Research: Are Adult Education Programs Ready for It?

Dr. Jovita Ross, Penn State University, USA

A Compared Analysis of Recent North American Research on Women and Minorities.

Dr. Klaus Harney, J.W. Goethe-Universitat, W. Germany

Access to Knowledge Within Different Cultural Context of Adult Education

CSRCAE Session 5 of 5.

Friday, June 30, 1989, 8:30-10:00 a.m.

Session 12.01
Room 3240
Participants: 21

Organizers: Alexander N. Charters and Robert C. Koepper

Chair: Dr. Colin Titmus

Presentors:

Dr. William Rivera, University of Maryland, USA

Agricultural Extension Systems Worldwide: A Comparis of their Socio-political, Organizational and Programm Characteristics

Dr. Claude Touchette, U. de Montreal, Canada

A Comparative Study of Andragogy (Adult Education) a Field of Studyt in the World

# ADULT EDUCATION AS CONCEPT AND STRUCTURE:

# AN AGENDA FOR RESEARCH

by

COLIN TITMUS

University of Leeds
United Kingdom

# ADULT EDUCATION AS CONCEPT AND STRUCTURE: AN AGENDA FOR RESEARCH

This paper started from reflections on the use made of the concept of adult education as a guiding principle in the organization of educational experience, but it has gone far beyond that, to question the utility of the concept. It was triggered off by observations of terminology, but has not remained limited to that field. Its purpose is, as a result of certain conceptual and practical difficulties experienced by the author, to suggest matters which might usefully be investigated, in order to improve educational provision for adults. It has taken a global view, because the issues I should like to see investigated have global implications.

In 1985 841 participants from 122 Member States met in Paris for the UNESCO Fourth International Conference on Adult Education (UNESCO 1985). That in itself was proof that adult education had become a worldwide phenomenon. To judge by previous UNESCO world conferences on the subject, it had got there by rapid and recent growth. In Elsinore (Denmark) in 1949 only 29 countries were represented, here in Montreal, in 1970, there were fifty-one and in Tokyo, in 1972, eighty-two (Lowe 1982). What is this adult education that draws so many people together? Clearly it is perceived to have characteristics that have global application. Judging by the debates in Paris, there is seen to be a collection of phenomena which constitute an entity and normally go, in English at least, under the name, 'adult education'.

Since 1976 it has been easy to assume that there exists one concept of it, which is universally recognized. In that year the Unesco General Conference produced the following definition:

"The term, 'adult education', denotes the entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, or whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges, and universities, as well as an apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their activities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications, or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic, and cultural development" (Unesco 1976)

This definition is, however, so general that it is to be doubted whether it has any functional value at all. From it the only features required are that it should be education, that it should *not* be initial education and that it have a specific target group, which is labelled but not defined. Within





those limits no forms, contents, methods or purposes peculiar to itself are specified - perhaps because none are universally recognized.

It may particularly be noted that this definition is partial in that it only deals with processes. It has nothing to say about what people principally have in mind when they speak of 'Chinese Adult Education', or 'Indian Adult Education', that is, the whole of those organizational arrangements and institutions, the operations of which have, as their entire or partial purpose, to make possible and to promote these processes. This omission is interesting, but from the definition itself or from the meeting out of which it emerged we can gain no inkling of the reason for it. One can only speculate. It may reflect a widespread attitude of those in adult education. They are quite prone to belittle the significance of organization to education, or even to believe that structures are inimical to process. It may, however, indicate lack of unity about these matters, that processes may be global, but adult education as organization is not. It may even indicate a belief that adult education is not characterized by organization unique to itself and does not need it. There is evidence to support the last two possibilities.

## THE TERMINOLOGY OF POST-INITIAL EDUCATION

In many countries the term, 'adult education', or its translation in their own languages, is not in current usage. This is not merely a matter of semantics, the label affixed to any group of human activities is not arbitrary, it tells us something about the way in which they are perceived. If in any country those activities which are undertaken to facilitate, organize and structure the educational processes of adults are not normally referred to by a term combining the ideas of 'adult' and 'education', one may reasonably ask oneself if they are perceived in the same way as they are in countries where the term, 'adult education', is the preferred denomination. One may also ask whether and how, if perception is different, the processes are different too. One might start with France, where 'éducation des adultes' has never become established and one speaks of 'formation continue' (or 'éducation populaire', or 'animation socio-culturelle), and go on to Africa, where one is more likely to hear or read 'nonformal education' (Ironside 1982).

Where 'adult education', with its conceptual implications, is a normally used label, many of the educational processes of adults are not so marked, nor are they primarily perceived as education of adults, but rather as 'higher education', 'workers' education', 'vocational training', or even some expression, such as 'community development', which has in it neither 'adult' nor 'education'. If this is the name given to the framework, is the

structure affected by the name, and if the structure is influenced, does that influence the process that takes place within it? There is little doubt that in some cases, at least, it does. The debate over access of adults to higher education demonstrates this, so too does the literature of adult vocational training. Adult educators have been trying for years to get these sectors adapted to meet what they perceive as the needs of adults as adults, in addition to their needs as higher education students, or as workers, partly because they believe that it would help to achieve these last two goals.

TERMINOLOGY AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE DYNAMICS OF PROVISION

The process of adult education frequently takes place, it is clear, within organizational arrangements not uniquely, or even primarily, designed to facilitate it. One may say that one major reason has been that the importance of adults' special learning needs has only recently been recognized, that therefore provision specifically to meet them could not previously have existed. Adults have, for certain purposes, had to turn to institutions or movements already established for other priorities and, if these have been reluctant to adapt to accommodate the knowledge we now have, that can be attributed to institutional rigidity. This may be true of higher education, or of "éducation populaire", for example, although the latter prides itself on its lack or flexibility of structure. The same argument cannot, however, be applied to community education, to nonformal education, or integrated rural development, because they do not pre-date our perception of adults' peculiar characteristics. In the choice of the language and the labels given to them it seems that either adult education has not been considered, or others have been chosen in preference to it. If they significantly reflect theory or practice, it would seem that in these cases, as in others, different considerations from those of adult education are given priority. The separate, or primary treatment of adulthood has seemed either impractical, or undesirable for the achievement of the goals intended.

Even when forms of education confined to adults are in question, the needs of students as adults are often not given primacy. For instance, workers' education is explicitly aimed at people in their role as workers, rather than as adults. One may say that it does not matter, since a worker is an adult, even though outside the socialist countries not all adults are workers. A stronger example may be the Open University in Great Britain, a higher education institution exclusively for adult students, which has served as a model for other institutions around the world. It is primarily perceived as an institution of higher education rather than adult education and although the latter is far from ignored, it is the norms of the former





which are given primacy - not only by its sponsor, the State, and by its personnel, but by those adults who are its students and those who would like to get in but cannot.

THE CONCEPT OF ADULT NEED AS A FACTOR IN ORGANIZATION

Undoubtedly those who would call themselves professional adult educators (and it must be remembered that many of those engaged even full-time in the education of adults would not, seeing such activity as a secondary part of their function, if they are conscious of it in those terms at all), believe that in all forms of educational provision in which adults participate major, if not primary, attention should be given in organization and methods to what the educators perceive as the special characteristics of adults. This is particularly true of those who are engaged in adult education as a field of study. Indeed it has become almost one of the profession's unquestioned presuppositions. It may also be justified, but the extent to which it is seems to require more questioning than it has so far received. Even without rejecting what has been learned about specific adult social, psychological and physiological development, which has led to the claims for special learning needs and organization to facilitate their satisfaction, it would be valuable to investigate rather more the claim made for the importance of the concept of adulthood, seen as a stage or process, to the education of human beings. How important is it now and how important should it be, in comparison with other roles or activities, to the assessment of a person's or a group's learning needs and the ways in which they may best be met?

If one does examine it, one's views about it are likely to change, so that, even if research should confirm that it has value, one might examine, in the light of the investigations how widely applicable it is. Such an investigation may be the more urgent because, in spite of the exceptions we have already pointed out, if indeed that is what they are, the concept and practice of adult education as a distinctive process and sector of educational organization appears to be spreading around the world.

SOME FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND SPREAD OF ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education, as it is predominantly conceived and practised today, originated in Northern Europe and North America. Its development has normally been associated with industrialization and democratization. Since that applies, however, just as much to mass childhood education, those forces alone cannot be used to explain the development of adult education as an activity separate in kind from that of children. Too little attention may have been given to the possibility that it may have been instigated rather by recognition of the peculiarity of childhood than by the

uniqueness of adulthood. Education had normally been regarded as an activity of children, but as they were to a large extent perceived merely as small human beings, not greatly different from grown-ups, certainly in the way they learn, education designed for them was not inappropriate for older persons. Over the last two hundred years, however, evidence has been amassed to demonstrate the uniqueness of childhood and the operation of formal education has been adapted to suit that uniqueness. If children were not merely small size human beings, but had special characteristics and needs, education organized for them would not suit the rest of humanity. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that the organization of education specifically for the rest, lumped together under the term 'adults' has been, in some degree, a necessary consequence of education specifically designed for children. The ideas that stimulated the latter, as the former, were evolved in Europe and North America and a product of Euro-American society at a particular period in its history.

It has been argued that systematic development of the concept of adult education as a unique whole, a distinctive process, covering all intentional learning of adults, requiring its own methods, organization and specialized educational personnel, has been powerfully stimulated by the large scale professionalization of adult educators, another Euro-American development. It was they who first perceived it in this way, it was their sense of common function, their need to gain status that appears to have given it its primary impetus. In order to be recognized as a profession adult educators had to claim mastery of a specific field of activity, requiring peculiar knowledge and skills, the acquisition of which was to be achieved by special training and the exercise of which should be governed by clearly defined rules of conduct. If this is true, then adult education, as currently perceived and studied may not even be primarily a product of the needs of North American and then European advanced society, but initially, at least, of a small group within it. It is very clearly a product of the special circumstances obtaining in that society.

To the economic and political dominance of the Euro-American region may be attributed the spread of these ideas to other parts of the world. Before they were even structured into a coherent body of theory, practices involving the education of adults were imposed by colonial powers, whether they were political or economic colonists. The United Kingdom and France were the most notable examples of the first kind, the USA of the second. In Africa, where French and British colonies were divided without regard for previously existing geographic, economic or cultural boundaries, francophone states still mainly function according to the principles and practices of "éducation populaire", while in anglophone ones





the mark of British adult education, its liberal and university extra-mural traditions, is still heavily imprinted upon practice, as it is in the Indian sub-continent. Similarly American influences are clearly traceable in Latin America.

The prevailing influence of the advanced states of Europe and America upon such international organizations as UNESCO and the World Bank has perpetuated the element of cultural imposition upon adult education practices in the Third World since the Second World War, through, for example, literacy and integrated rural development programmes. But much of the continuing adoption of such ideas and practices by developing countries has not been imposed, they have been voluntarily borrowed. These states too have wished to become prosperous and have believed that the way to do so was to imitate the advanced states. Students from the Third World come in increasing numbers to the graduate and undergraduate schools of Europe and North America, in order to acquire qualifications in adult education which almost guarantee them senior and influential posts on their return to their own countries.

From the raising of these few points - there are certainly numerous others - it does seem that the concept of adult education may not have been entirely inspired by conviction that it was true and/or necessary on educational grounds. On available evidence major determining influences on its development seem to have been operative in a particular area, Europe and America, at particular times. From these places and times the basic elements, at least, of this concept have been propagated throughout the world, in part, no doubt, because of belief in their global and permanent educational validity, but also in part for non-educational reasons. Since terminology and structures suggest that not even all regions of Europe and America have been subjected to the same determinant influences, or that they have been outweighed by other considerations, on those grounds alone the global applicability of the concepts is open to question.

As for the non-educational factors, it may be proper in some circumstances to adopt educational concepts for political or economic reasons, subject to critical examination. In the circumstances in which concepts and practices of adult education have been imposed or borrowed in the Third World, very critical examination indeed is required. This has certainly been taking place, even though the predominance of advanced world thinking is still considerable. The forms and content of adult education may be under scrutiny, the concept of adulthood as a necessary basis for educational structure and organization may be in doubt,

nevertheless the concept of adulthood as a distinctive stage of human life, with specific ways and needs in learning, is subject to little question.

EDUCATIONAL UTILITY OF THE CONCEPT OF ADULTHOOD

But then it is not in the advanced world either and perhaps it should be. There seems to be a justifiable suspicion that, for educational purposes, it has been seen as what is left over after childhood is completed and has from that been credited with a similar unity, which may, in the case of adult education, be artificial and, at the very least, too simplistic. Not only growing attention to adolescence supports this latter view, but the French language has for long reflected a perception of human life as having more than two stages. Adulthood is only the second, it runs from "....la fin de l'adolescence au commencement de la vieillesse." (Robert 1967) Hence the expression Third Age for old age, as in the University of the Third Age (Withnall, Kabwasa 1982). But adulthood may still cover too long a span to be considered as a single whole. Educators have long divided the much shorter period of childhood into stages, either the developmental ones of Piaget, or the organizational ones of pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary. Adult educators have only recently begun to break down their target population into developmental stages linked to chronology. There is little doubt of the influence of child development thinking in this.

The extent to which the childhood analogy is applicable ought to be carefully examined. Adulthood is of longer duration and covers wider experience than childhood. It may therefore need to be divided into more segments, defined in a more complex way than the stages of childhood. Psychologists who perceive adulthood in developmental terms implicitly recognize this by defining the successive stages they identify not merely by ages, but also by the roles and life tasks associated with each stage (Foles 1982). Developmentalists still, however, perceive progression from one to another as essentially chronological and linear, steps on the road from birth to death.

The way that the organization of adult education provision is fragmenting, in part according to age, but equally according to social situation, roles and tasks, as exemplified by special provision for women, ethnic minorities, parents, workers, communities, most of which transcends age divisions, entitles one to ask whether this is an adequate view. As others have already asked, is it sufficient to perceive adult learning in terms of different ages and the behaviours particularly associated with them and to structure educational provision accordingly? Does it even correspond to the facts (Kummerow 1977)? Would it be more helpful, in our treatment of adult learners, to give more attention to roles, situations,



tasks and purposes, independent of any specific age link? Does the specificity of adulthood, for educational purposes, lie more in its lateral range and less in its vertical progression than we had hitherto believed? The diversity of the kinds of education in which adults participate, their labels - workers' education, community education, higher education, literacy campaigns and many others -, even more, the age range at which they are targeted and the primary principles and purposes which animate them, suggest an implicit, if not an explicit, recognition of this hypothesis.

UTILITY OF ADULTHOOD AND ADULT EDUCATION AS ENTITIES

Adult education theoreticians and, in so far as theory has affected practice, programme planners and teachers, have arrived at their ideas of how adults learn, how they should be taught and how their learning opportunities ought to be organized mainly from seeing adulthood as an entity. There has been a tendency too to attribute a global application to both the concept and the ideas derived from it. This thinking has sometimes had questionable results. Methods appropriate to specific situations and for specific purposes have been rejected because they conflict with what is considered proper to the overall concept of adult education. For example, for certain limited purposes and in particular contexts a behaviouristic approach to bringing about learning works, but it is widely disapproved of because it runs contrary to ideas of what an adult is and how he/she should be treated. There is also the reverse effect, pressure is applied to use approaches derived from an overall concept of adult education, such as andragogy à la Knowles (Knowles 1980), even when their suitability for particular situations is not apparent.

Perhaps a shift of balance from the grand view to the more pragmatic, short term and small scale might be useful. It might be instructive to remember that modern adult education began, after all, as a response to concrete needs requiring immediate satisfaction. It is a matter of common experience that adult participants, with few exceptions, seek immediate rather than long term gratification. Perhaps those, learners and educators, who are guided by the requirements of limited and demonstrably achievable goals, rather than long term, speculative ones, as, for example, most are in adult vocational training and in integrated rural development, are right in their respective situations. Perhaps the prevailing practice, which sets the acquisition of immediate skills required to earn a living above learning of broader implication but undemonstrable validity, is justified.

Learning theorists, whether concerned with adults, children, or the whole

of human life, may have been inclined to universalize their findings beyond the evidence available and to take too little account of the influence of culture on thought and behaviour. In Anglophone countries, for example, there has been quite a literature on the effect of attention span on adult learning (Bligh 1972). It does not appear to have been of much concern in mainland Europe. It is a matter of common observation that students from societies with an oral tradition memorize more easily than those from North America or Europe. Those characteristics of learning which are most relevant to a specific situation may not be those that are given most prominence in general studies of adult learning, to which students of adult education in graduate schools, including those from Third World countries, are directed.

AN AGENDA FOR RESEARCH

The considerations outlined in this paper suggest the following research agenda.

A Are there characteristics general to all adults at all stages of life?
Are there characteristics general to all adults at certain stages in life?
Are there characteristics general to all adults in certain cultures at all stages of life?
Are there characteristics general to all adults in certain cultures at certain stages of life?

B If there are such characteristics in such circumstances, are they generally relevant to the processes of learning in those circumstances?
How important are they to the processes?

C How far do the concepts of adulthood and adult education provide the principles on which educational provision for adults is organized and structured in those circumstances?
How far should they provide these principles?

D How far do other influences determine adult learning needs and the way adults learn?
How far do they provide the principles on which educational provision for adults is organized?
How far should they provide these principles?

Other topics may present themselves, but on the basis of these alone more general questions arise. How valid for education purposes is the concept of



adulthood as an entity with specific characteristics? Consequently, how valid is the concept, adult education, as a directing principle for the processes covered by the UNESCO definition given at the beginning of this paper and how suitable is it as the umbrella name for those processes and the organization which facilitates them? Does it help or hinder thinking and practice?

As a concluding point one may note that, even where it has been in general use, the concept and the term, 'adult education', are being challenged, the preferred alternatives so far being 'continuing education' or terms related to 'lifelong education'.

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Colin Titmus

REPORT ON THE CONTEXT AND STATE OF COMPARATIVE ADULT EDUCATION, AND ON FOUR PUBLICATIONS

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## REPORT ON FOUR PUBLICATIONS IN COMPARATIVE ADULT EDUCATION

This presentation is a report on some publications which I have authored or co-authored in the field of comparative adult education. Each of the publications is designed to relate to the interests of particular groups of educators of adults.

The publications include only materials in the English language and are published in English. Comparative Adult Education - An Overview has been translated and also published in Spanish.

Before describing each of the four publications, I have provided some information about some topics which give the context for all of the publications. In this way the reader will perhaps note the background in which the publications are written. It has been done by excerpting brief examples from various publications. However, each publication is distinct and stands alone.

The four publications related to comparative adult education are:

1. Comparing Adult Education Worldwide, Alexander N. Charters and Associates. 1981. Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco. (Comparing)
2. Landmarks in International Adult Education, A Comparative Analysis. Edited by Alexander N. Charters and Ronald J. Hilton. 1989. Routledge, England. (Landmarks)
3. Comparative Adult Education: State of the Art with Annotated Resource Guide. Alexander N. Charters and Dilnawaz A. Siddiqui. Monographs on Comparative and Area Studies in Adult Education, Jindra Kulich, General Editor. 1989. Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia in cooperation with The International Council for Adult Education. Vancouver, British Columbia. (CAE - State of the Art)
4. Comparative Adult Education - An Overview. Alexander N. Charters. 1989. (In English and Spanish). Inter-american Federation for Adult Education, Caracas, Venezuela. (CAE/Overview)





Publications referred to in this Report:

1. International Handbook of Resources for Educators of Adults. Alexander N. Charters and Raymond E. Dengel. January 1986. Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education, Syracuse, NY MSS 33. (Handbook)
2. Some Perspectives on Lifelong Education. Alexander Nathaniel Charters. 1986. Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education, Syracuse, NY. (Perspectives)
3. A Primer of Adult Education. Alexander N. Charters. 1987. Literacy, Adult Education and Rural Development Division, UNESCO, Paris, France. ED-87/WS/10. (Primer)
4. Some Comments on Comparative Adult Education, Alexander Charters, in Comparative Research in Adult Education, Present lines and perspectives. Edited by Maurizio Lichtner. 1989. Centrl Europeo deli'Educazione (CEDE), Rome, Italy. (Comments)

A. The Context of Comparative Adult Education

1. The mission of adult education

The mission of adult education is to assist adults to acquire further control of their current circumstances and their future destinies. Control enables adults to participate more intelligently and responsibly in their political, working, social, cultural, family and religious environments, and in effect to improve the quality of their lives. (Primer, p. 1)

2. The three stages of evolution of education

My second perspective provides a linear view, both backward and forward, of education. The evolution of education in our society might be viewed as passing through three stages - traditional, institutionalized, and knowledge-based. We are currently in the transition between stages two and three.

The first stage is called the traditional stage. In the traditional stage which extends over many centuries, all the components of the society were educative--families; occupations; religious, social and cultural activities--the entire community. It was indiginous to the people and society. There were no or very few special institutions for the education of most young people. In this traditional society, learning was mostly oriented to the past.

The second stage might be called the institutionalized stage. A special institution for educating young people was established--the school--and gradually most educative functions were stripped from the other components of society and transferred to the school. Compared to the traditional society, the school was knowledge-rich in terms of the foreseeable future. Gradually schooling became equated with education and education with schooling. The goal was to produce a product of knowledge acquired - not to start a process of learning to learn. The school was a half-way response to the need to orient learning and move it from the past to the transient present but not far to the future.

The third stage of education into which the work is now moving, might be called the knowledge-based stage. It is not to consider knowledge as a product but knowledge as the basis for knowing. Knowledge is all encompassing to all aspects of learning and it behooves all adults to continue to learn in areas and at levels appropriate for them. As in the traditional stage, all the components of society are once again considered to be educative. The broadening of concern for involvement in and the commitment to the education of adults





is evident in the expansion in the number and types of agencies involved in the education of adults. . . . The concern is also worldwide as well as involving people from all segments of society. (Perspectives, pp. 3-4)

3. Definition of adult education

A definition of adult education might be: The identification, selection, provision, arrangement, and evaluation of learning activities for adults who are physically mature; consciously learning in order to achieve their selected goals; learning on a part-time basis or on a full-time basis for only short periods of time as part of their life pattern; learning in order to assume greater responsibility as citizens, workers, family members, and social beings living in a particular environment. (Primer of Adult Education, p. 26)

4. Educators of adults

People involved in the education of adults may be paid employees or volunteers and may even be unaware that, through their activities, they are engaged in the field of adult education. Thus, some do identify with the field and some do not. Moreover, they may not be recognized by others as performing an adult educational role. They may be administrators, supervisors; deans; directors; advisors and counselors; members of the clergy; librarians; media specialists and other support personnel; tutors, facilitators; faculty and students in the field of adult education; community developers and community educators; research workers; consultants; policy makers; elected officials; and board members of adult education agencies. (Primer of Adult Education, p. 2)

5. Providers of adult education

In most countries, adult education is provided by a complex variety of agencies, all providing some form of learning opportunity. The broadening of concern for involvement in, and the commitment to the education of adults is evident in the expansion in the number and types of agencies involved in the education of adults. They include business and industry, communication enterprises, galleries and museums, government agencies, international organizations, labor organizations and unions, military, postsecondary institutions, religious bodies, schools, correctional

facilities, special groups (elderly, handicapped, minorities, illiterates), sports and recreation organizations, vocational and professional associations, and voluntary (not for profit) bodies. The concern is also worldwide as well as involving people from all segments of society. (Primer of Adult Education, p. 55)



B. Comparative Adult Education

1. Definition of comparative adult education

The main thrust of the emerging field of comparative adult education is upon the intent and process of "learning from each other" (Charters, 1981). Charters' (1988) most recent work on this field defines comparative adult education as:

> (a) statements about the theory, principles, methodology and other topics of comparative studies related to adult education, and (b) studies comparing a topic on adult education in two or more situations. A comparative adult education study needs to extend beyond description of adult education in two or more situations and/or a juxtaposition of adult education data. There must be analysis and comparison to identify similarities and dissimilarities. An intra-national study is the comparison of a topic in two or more situations within one country and an international study is the comparison of a topic in two or more countries. (Comparative Adult Education: State of the Art, p. 3)

2. Antecedents of comparative adult education

It is in both comparative education and adult education that the antecedents of this field of study are to be found. Historians of comparative education did not look deeper in the past than the last two centuries and thus have contented themselves with considering efforts of Marc-Antoine Julien as the beginning of their field. Moreover, no significant attempt has been made to delve into the non-Western literature of education or social systems to search for its origins. (Comparative Adult Education: State of the Art, p. 4)

3. Recency of comparative adult education

The recency of the field of comparative adult education may be observed from an examination of the Table of Contents of Handbooks of Adult Education, published by the Adult Education Association of U.S.A., 1934-1948, 1960-1970. The word international appears in titles of sections in 1960 as "International Organizations in Adult Education" and again in 1970 as "The International Dimension." The word comparative does not appear in the Table of Contents. The word

comparative does appear twice in the index of 1970 edition, as: comparative adult education courses and comparative education. However in 1981 Comparing Adult Education Worldwide was published as one of the seven books which together were the AEA Handbook Series in Adult Education (1980-81).

4. Significant events in comparative adult education

In view of the interrelationships between comparative adult education and comparative education on the one hand and between adult education and comparative adult education on the other, there are quite a few common events and activities. Though not comprehensive, the selection covers the major meetings of scholars, publication of important works, and the starting points of sustained efforts pertinent to the comparative adult education movement.

1917 Introduction of the Jullien Plan to the Anglophone world through its publication
1949 International Conference of Adult Education (UNESCO) held at Elsinore, Denmark
1958 Publication of Adult education: A comparative study by Robert Peers
1960 World Conference on Adult Education (UNESCO) held at Montreal, Canada
1960 Founding of the International Congress of University Adult Education (ICUAE)
1963 Presentation of Rosello's paper on comparative education at Hamburg
1964 Publication of History of Islamic origins of Western education by M. Nakosteen
1966 First International Conference on The Comparative Study of Adult Education at Exeter, (NH), USA
1967 First graduate course in comparative adult education offered by the Ontario Institute for the Study of Education
1970 Founding of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE)
1970 Start of publication of series by Kulich of annotated bibliographies on adult education in Europe
1972 International Experts' Meeting "An Agenda for Comparative Studies in Adult Education," Nordborg, Denmark
1972 Third International Conference on Adult Education (UNESCO), held in Tokyo, Japan
1972 World Congress of Comparative International Education Societies, Ottawa, Canada
1975 Publication of Comparative studies in adult education: An anthology by Clif Bennett, et al.
1981 Publication of Comparing adults education: Worldwide by Alexander Charters & Associates





1983 Publication of Adult education in Europe by P. Maydl et al.
1985 Fourth International Conference on Adult Education (UNESCO) held in Paris, France
1987 Comparative Adult Education Conference (Open University), held at Oxford, U.K.
1988 International Seminar on Comparative Research in Adult Education organized by Centro Europeo Dell'Educazione (CEDE), held at Frascati (Roma), Italy
(Comparative Adult Education: State of the Art, pp. 20-22)

Since the above list was published, two other events should be added.

1987 A Committee on Study and Research in Comparative Adult Education formed jointly by the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE) and the International Congress of University Adult Education (ICUAE).

1989 Four sessions on Comparative Adult Education are part of VIIth World Congress of Comparative Education Societies.

5. Users of information about comparative adult education

Users Comparative international adult education is designed to help several types of users. First, it is to assist educators of adults in their role as continuing learners. It seems reasonable to expect that adults can benefit from each other's experiences, irrespective of the particular contexts in which they live, provided they are communicating. The educators of adults cannot be classified into categories such as developing and developed or those who know and those who do not. Rather, their abilities may be viewed as a continuum extending from the least to the most qualified. Individuals in any country can be found at any point in the continuum and so can the educators of adults. Perhaps the educators of adults in any one country can "on the average" be placed at a different point in the continuum from those in another country. But all educators of adults can learn from each other only if the information and knowledge are made available in forms they can understand and adapt to their particular situation. Learning from each other should not be by chance but by design. . . .

A second group of users of comparative international adult education is in the institutions, organizations, and agencies that provide programs for adults. In a broad sense these include any group of individuals who in some way relate to the education of adults. The institutions, organizations, and agencies in which they work may be separately established for the education of adults; they may be designed for some other level of education of which adult education is a component; they may have been previously unrelated to adult education in mission and objective but have subsequently assumed an adult education role; or they may be international agencies such as UNESCO, the World Bank, and the International Labor Organization (ILO).

A third group of users of comparative international adult education is the sponsors of adult education programs. The sponsors, of course, may be the individuals or the institutions, organizations, or agencies previously referred to. The sponsors may also be government agencies or private foundations. These may take the initiative and give leadership to provide resources so a given agency or individual can provide programs. In such cases the sponsors are one step removed from the actual conduct of the programs offered to adults. (Comparative Adult Education: State of the Art, pp. 6-7)

6. Value of comparative adult education

(a) Discussing the value of this growing field of study, Charters (1981) stresses the need to analyze the past in order to glean information, insight and understanding on which to plan and function in the present and future. His rationale for this field is also based on the need to find answers or at least responses to questions and hypotheses about why sometimes within similar societies certain aspects of adult education turn out to be different and why in dissimilar societies adult education aspects turn out to be the same. By comparing issues and problems, objectives, needs, programs, evaluation and other items in one's own country with the same phenomena in other countries, one can find new ideas or approaches helpful to educators of adults in rational decision-making and to adult learners themselves in finding better ways of interacting with their socio-economic and political environments.

Thus, this learning from each other ought to be both vertical and horizontal; that is, across time as well as space. While across time means learning from the past to improve the present and the future, across space means learning in the present from the practices of adult education in other countries and cultures.





The theoretical foundations for research in comparative adult education have so far been rather limited. There are various reasons for this inadequacy including the poor scientific bases of education in general and those of adult education in particular. The very framework for making international comparisons among educational variables has not been sufficiently refined. (Comparative Adult Education: State of the Art, p. 5)

(b) Perhaps because of our lack of knowledge of our own history, educators of adults often behave in timid ways, chary of risking comparative observations because we do not know what we might wish to know about history, antecedents, or trends. We are, therefore, unable to exercise good judgment or even to conjecture about program elements which might be transferable across milieu, even across cultures.

We find ourselves in the discomforting position of sensing that we could make more reasoned and useful observations and judgments, were we more informed. Neither our professional preparation for the field, however, nor the substantial demands upon our time and energy as practitioners foster the acquisition of such useful knowledge and insights. We are a little like the young automobile mechanic who can only imagine how much better a mechanic he will be after years of apprenticeship practice. In the instance of many of us, however, we are frequently not young, and almost none are apprenticing; hence the prospects of honing our skills as observers and critics seem dim indeed.

Yet another factor compounds our dilemma. The world has seen a remarkable proliferation of adult education programing during the present century, including proliferation of program models, of sponsors, of delivery systems and of technology to support them, and of the variety of both adult learners and educators of adults. To paraphrase Sir Winston Churchill substantially, never have so many needed to learn so much with so few resources available for their learning.

The comparative approach of this new book is intended to reduce further the blinders provided by our living within such paradox, at the same time as it enlarges our understanding of our roots, our interconnectedness, our inheritance as educators of adults. In some instances these accounts will demonstrate the international complexity of this inheritance. (Landmarks, pp. 6-7)

7. Development of the field of comparative adult education

Comments. The CEDE and the individuals who developed the program are to be congratulated on this fine conference. In this new field of CAE developments seem to be agaonizingly slow. Nevertheless, progress is sure, especially as one looks in retrospect to the CAE conferences held in Oxford, 1978, Nordberg, 1972, and Exeter, 1966. Accompanying the patience of those educators of adults working in CAE there appears to be the firm commitment to proceed with studies and research in CAE even though projects are not always coordinated and only vaguely related. In reviewing the papers of all four of these conferences, it is evident that the field of CAE is being clarified and described more precisely, if not defined.

It is impractical and indeed impossible at this time to have the field of CAE neatly defined before proceeding with study and research. Moreover, it is through studies and research that the elements of theory and principles as well as practice will develop or emerge. It is with this thought in mind that this conference assumes significance beyond the intrinsic worth of the individual papers. (Comparative Research in Adult Education, p. 243)

8. Resources

(a) There is a section on Comparative Adult Education in the International Handbook of Resources for Educators of Adults.

The purpose of the International Handbook of Resources for Educators of Adults is to assist adult educators in obtaining access to resources. In this way they may be able to continue more efficiently and effectively their professional development as researchers and practitioners. In time access to resources may improve and enhance the quality of adult education so that adults will gain further control over personal circumstances and future destinies.

This edition of the International Handbook for Educators of Adults builds upon the previous one in looseleaf form by Alexander N. Charters. The outline of this Handbook is more comprehensive than the looseleaf edition. The first edition was designed listing items in each category of the outline even though there were only a few publications/references completed at that time. As new entries were prepared they were periodically distributed to Handbook subscribers as a series of additions. Indeed some of the sections became the basis





of publications by UNESCO and other sponsors which have contracts with Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education (SUPCE).

Since the first edition, many more references have appeared and, in many cases, lists of resources on various aspects of the topic have been published. Accordingly, lists or compilations of references are being cited. In some cases lists are not available and so individual reference items are provided. In other cases, a list of references may be supplemented by other references. . . .

. . . All references and citations in this Handbook have been collected and are held in the Ernest Bird Library of Syracuse University. Exceptions are some of the Data Base Systems, to which Syracuse University does not presently have access. (International Handbook of Resources for Educators of Adults, pp. 1-2)

(b) This monograph is a further important contribution to the growing interest in and discussion of the methodology of comparative adult education. It also represents a new, additional step towards a more balanced worldwide perspective to our study of the adult education phenomena, both in the theoretical considerations in Part I, and in the annotated resources brought together for the first time in Part II. (Comparative Adult Education: State of the Art, p. viii)

C. Publications

1. Comparing Adult Education Worldwide

This volume is the first full-length treatment of comparative international adult education composed entirely of original chapters planned, written, and edited according to an overall design. And the content is unique as well; the book provides a rare account of adult education in nine European socialist countries (including the Soviet Union), and it identifies new policies and practices from developing Third World nations that hold promise for improving programs in more industrialized and urban countries.

The authors' contributions include an overview of comparative international adult education, two chapters making general comparisons of adult education in several countries, three chapters dealing with major elements in adult education, two treating central aspects of comparative adult education as a discipline, and two chapters examining adult learners and ways to reach them--particularly those who are not well served currently. The countries within which comparisons are made vary widely in such characteristics as geography, language, demography, and states of economic growth. The topics and the countries together provide a broad scope of comparative studies and exemplify the nature and methods of comparative international adult education today (Comparing Adult Education Worldwide, from flap of book)

The subject of each chapter was suggested by the author of the book but modified to some extent by the chapter authors. Each chapter was on different topics of adult education. The authors then selected the two or more countries which were to be compared. They were free to select the methods by which to collect the data. They analyzed the data to identify similarities, differences and other factors.

The book author then analyzed the chapters to identify similarities and differences as well as to make other observation.





2. Landmarks in International Adult Education - A Comparative Analysis

This informative study presents a comparative analysis of eight major programs in adult education, ranging from study circles in Sweden to the co-operative extension system in the United States. A landmark program is defined as one which has successfully addressed an important issue and served a population of significant numbers. Each program in this volume is described by experts writing from and about their countries, but within an analytical framework which ensures a genuinely comparative approach.

Contributors: Alexander N. Charters and Ronald J. Hilton, Kjell Rubenson, Per Himmelstrup, Ana Krajnc, Roger Fieldhouse, James Morrison, James S. Long, Paul Lengrand and Gunther Dohmen. (Landmarks, from publisher's announcement of forthcoming books)

Although this book follows a pattern similar to Comparing Adult Education Worldwide, more rigor was built into it. It had certain characteristics: (a) Each program author described a program that is a landmark in his/her own country. (b) Each program author described the one program under eight prescribed topics. (c) The book authors identified similarities and differences, using the same eight topics, using only the data provided by the program authors. The eight topics are: (a) Program needs and identification of needs. (b) Mission and objectives. (c) Historical precedents/antecedents. (d) Cultural/societal conditions. (e) Principal players/facilitators. (f) Operational considerations. (g) Evaluation standards, criteria and validation processes. (h) Influence and impact. Another topic, Program Chapters authors' perspectives, was added to give the authors an opportunity to add any comments they desired. They were not compared for similarities or differences.

The book authors also observed six themes that pervaded the descriptions in the eight topics.

1. Comparative Adult Education: State of the Art With Annotated Resource Guide

> This monograph is an important contribution to the growing interest in and discussion of the methodology of comparative adult education. It also represents a new step towards a more balanced worldwide perspective to the study of the adult education phenomena, both in the theoretical and methodological considerations contained in Part I, and in the annotated resources brought together for the first time in Part II. (Comparative Adult Education: State of the Art, from publisher's announcement of the book)

This book as the title implies provides a broad sweep of the state of the art in comparative adult education as found in reports of conferences on comparative adult education and UNESCO conferences on adult education as well as an examination of the literature. The materials are all in the English language. The annotated bibliography provides a basis for the development of this manuscript and also provides the reader with the most comprehensive bibliography so far developed in comparative adult education.

4. Comparative Adult Education - An Overview

This book developed out of seminars offered by the author in three cities in Venezuela. Considerable background is provided about adult education because most of the participants had little experience in the field. It seems important to give them a context in which to consider comparative adult education. Since each participant had to write on comparative



adult education as part of the course, some information about research design particularly as it related to the international level, considerable information about resources and ways to access them are provided as a research guide in a beginning course in comparative adult education.

**Syracuse University**
**School of Education**

To: Darryl Geddes

From: Peggy Bonesteel

Re: Recent publications and activities of Alexander Charters, professor emeritus, adult education, School of Education
Date: July 20, 1989

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Dr. Charters participated in the VIIth World Congress of Comparative Education held in Montreal, June 25-30, 1989. The Congress was sponsored by comparative and international adult education associations throughout the world. Charters chairs the Committee on Study and Research in Comparative Adult Education (CSRCAE). Along with Robert Koepper, dean of continuing education at ESF, Charters was instrumental in organizing CSRCAE sessions that featured 12 presenters from 7 different countries.

Recent publications of Alexander Charters:
Charters, A.N. (1989). *Comparative Adult Education: An Overview*. Caracus, Venezuela: Federachion Interamericana de Education de Adultos

Charters, A.N. (1989). *The Adult Education Collection at Syracuse University* (includes a brief history of the development of the collection and is a guide to accessing the various adult education collections. Reference is made to 28 items in ERIC that are related to the collections. The publication is also entered in ERIC). 216 Lockwood Road, Syracuse, NY 13204-2035.

*Papers on Comparative Adult Education from Sessions Organized by the Committee on Study and Research in Comparative Adult Education at the VIIth World Congress of Comparative Education* (1989). Compiled by Dr. Charters and Beverly Cassara of the University of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.

"Report on the Context and State of Comparative Adult Education and Four Publications on Comparative Adult Education," (1989) in *Papers on Comparative Adult Education* (see above).

Charters, A.N., & Hilton, R.J. (1989). *Landmarks in international adult education: A Comparative Analysis*. London: Routledge.

Charters, A.N. & Siddiqui, D.A. (1989). *Comparative Adult Education: State of the Art With Annotated Resource Guide*. Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education.

Charters, A.N. (1989). "Some Comments on Comparative Adult Education" in M. Lichtner (Ed.) *Comparative Research in Adult Education: Present Lines and Perspectives* (conference papers). Frascati, Italy: Centro Europeo delle Educazione (CEDE).

Charters, A.N., (1989). "Provision of Adult Education—U.S." in C.J. Titmus (Ed.) *Lifelong Education for Adults: An International Handbook*. London: Pergamon and in T. Haisen. & T.N. Postlethwaihe (Eds.). *The International Encyclopedia of Education: Supplementary Volume One*. London: Pergamon.



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# COMPARATIVE ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH: METHODS AND MATERIALS

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A paper presented at VIIth World Congress of Comparative Education Development, Communication and Language, University of Montreal, Canada, June 26-30, 1989

# COMPARATIVE ADULT EDUCATION: METHODS AND MATERIALS

Dr. Dilnawaz A. Siddiqui
June, 1989

Comparative adult education (CAE) is essentially a research or an evaluative activity as it is intended to measure the nature and extent of similarities and/or dissimilarities between two or more adult education phenomena. Historically, wherever there had been activities associated with education of adults there were comparisons made among them. Both near and far eastern literatures amply bear out this fact (Nakosteen, 1964; Yousif, 1978). However, with increased and more wide-spread facilities in modern times, these efforts have been better organized in the West into a sub-field of CAE. This paper seeks to shed some light on the developments in the methodology of comparing adult education, to identify a few relevant sources of information on it, to point out major reasons for the slow pace of progress in CAE, and to suggest ways of improving its techniques further.

The main thrust of my argument with regard to disciplining CAE is upon indepth analysis of cultural antecedents of adult education phenomena. Such an acute treatment of the subject most often calls for looking beyond political boundaries of the nations compared. CAE has for various reasons lagged behind comparative education in attaining this depth. I have attempted here to explain the rationale for more acute analysis of adult education phenomena by stressing the inevitable linkages among beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors (BAB) in all spheres of human endeavor. I have then moved on to introduce my research paradigm called CIRTAD, followed by the basic research assumptions researchers in CAE must make in planning, designing, conducting, and reporting their studies. In the end I have spelled out the major steps in organizing CAE efforts.

Charters and Siddiqui (1989) have traced the evolution of CAE methods in relation to certain landmarks in the history of this research sub-field. After stressing the need to dig deeper into the near-eastern antecedents of the current western thinking in general and of modern education system in particular, they point to the 1966 Exeter Conference (Liveright and Haygood, 1968) as the first organized effort to start the present CAE movement. According to them, its participants were preoccupied with identifying, compiling and collating the basic data on national practices and programs in adult education. They state: "Barring just a mention of the need to identify similarities and dissimilarities among various national programs, there was hardly any noteworthy discussion of methodology for doing so."

It was early at the Nordberg Conference of 1972 (UNESCO, 1972) that scholars felt the need to develop a uniform approach to comparative studies in adult education. The field is said to have moved from the stage of describing activities to that of a problem-oriented approach designed to discuss ways of different

societies in solving common problems."

The third landmark in the CAE journey was the 1975 publication of "Comparative Studies in Adult Education: an Anthology," (Bennett et al, 1975). Kidd (1975) draws attention to different attitudes toward CAE: (a) of those who did not want to concern themselves with theoretical squabbles in the face of the monumental problem of illiteracy in the world; (b) of those who were concerned about too much diversity of research techniques without sufficient regard to the nature of adult education; and (c) of those who were opting for the eventual emergence of a synthetic pattern out of this diverse borrowings from other academic disciplines.

The next significant event in the history of CAE was the appearance of Charters and Associates' "Comparing Adult Education Worldwide" (1981). While the 1975 anthology indicates one-way instructional mode of CAE researchers, this latest publication of 1981 showed a definite trend toward mutual learning worldwide. However, it was not until the Oxford Conference in 1987 that a greater awareness of the need for global exchange of values was evidenced. Poggeler (1987) called for a new internationalism as a prerequisite for comparative scholarship. Ratek and Savicky (1987) emphasized the need for more intense study of human factor from the cross-cultural perspective and not from that of narrow socio-economic viewpoint. The Frascati (Roma) Conference of 1988 took this trend further by emphasizing the exchange of knowledge of cultural values.



At this stage, it is necessary here to draw the attention of the scholars of CAE toward a few important sources of information in relation to the global call for new inter-culturalism, which will enrich the field a great deal. (Please see the list of resources after References.)

From the foregoing discussion, these points have become clear:

a. the sub-field of CAE has shown a slow but steady progress;
b. resource constraints on frequent professional contacts among scholars of CAE have continued;
c. there is still no methodological trend emerging: persistent haphazardness in this regard is observable; and
d. there is continued overemphasis on international comparisons devoid of deeper inter-cultural explanations for similarities and dissimilarities among compared adult education phenomena.

I plan to devote the rest of this paper to the last two concerns, which in turn is expected to relieve the situation with regard to (a) above if not to both (a) and (b).

The more apparent reasons for the slow progress in the qualitative improvement of CAE include the tremendous costs

involved, recency of the sub-field, pragmatism of the AE practitioners (in terms of priority attached to immediate need for delivering adult education as compared with theoretical concerns of whether or not an alternative would work better), a lack of rigorous training in social science comparative methodology, limited ideological perspectives of CAE leaders, and a lack of attention to the historical and philosophical foundations of international or comparative adult education. This last point is particularly important because despite our relatively recent emphasis on mutual learning (Charters, 1981), we have not been able to adequately prepare ourselves for it.

We continue to suffer from the consequences of our historical tradition that assumes the beginning of every intellectual movement in Greece or Rome, its development in European renaissance, and its culmination in American capitalism. Should we sincerely seek to attain the wisdom from which we can really learn, then the first thing we need to do is to comprehend the contributions of other cultures to the modern European enlightenment during the one and a half millennia preceding the renaissance, especially the nine hundred years from the 7th century to the 15th century. It was in these so-called dark ages that the solid foundations of modern sciences and of a just social life were laid by Muslims in Asia, North Africa, and Spain. Without this recognition being accorded to cultures we seek to compare with our own, we will fail to understand the cultural and ideological forces behind the prevailing AE phenomena. A lack of understanding of other cultures often causes misconceptions in our minds about our own ways of life, which complicate our task of comprehending the relationships of AE phenomena with their antecedents.

Let us return for a moment to our traditional emphasis on comparing adult education phenomena across national borders. one underlying assumption which we seem to entertain in doing so is that all nations are monolingual, mono-ideological, and uni-cultural entities, and we expect to detect and measure observed similarities and dissimilarities and then attribute them to their "national" traits. Consequently, we are amazed to find no consistent patterns.

In this process, the CAEer might miss the point that, while the motivations behind creating nation states have historically been the same, i.e., to shatter old loyalties and restructuring them along newly desired ones, what eventually emerges also depends upon who has engineered the break-up in question and when. It is vital to understand whether the popular internal forces are seeking to disintegrate the old colonial bonds or the new structure is being imposed on the local population by external antagonistic forces. For example, it is common knowledge that the so-called modern European nation states were created as part of their freedom movements against the old direct papal hegemony

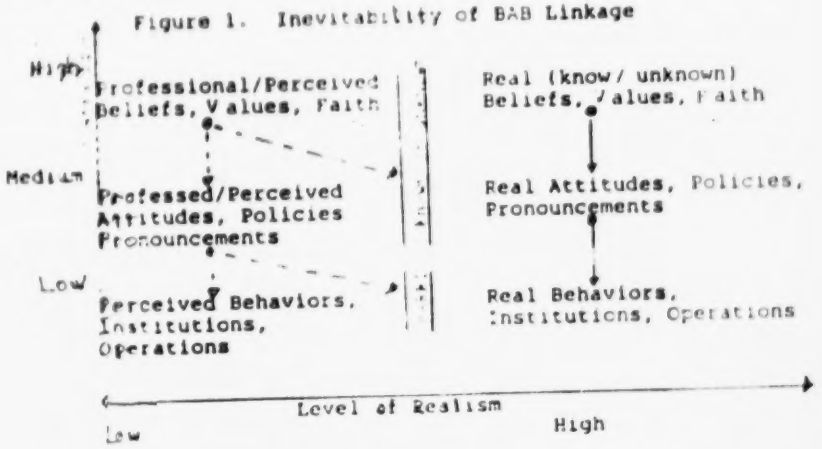
or against the puppet monarchies established by the Church. On the contrary, the existing nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are the result of externally imposed colonial efforts to shatter old loyalties coming in the way of these raiders. Obviously, most of these latter subject states of the Third World are not monolingual, mono-ideological, or uni-cultural. Consequently, a CAE researcher may be unjustified in assuming intra-national similarities and in always expecting dissimilarities in people, places, and things simply because they belong to different nations.

Therefore, the CAE researcher must bear in mind this and other possible differences in the nature of the history of each nation state compared. Even early theoreticians and historians of comparative education have expressed their dissatisfaction with a lot of studies in the field because they found them dispersive, wasteful, and futile, instead of being thorough, original and analytical. They expected comparative education to move in cross-cultural, poly-cultural, and even cosmo-cultural directions, emphasizing the need for CE researchers to undertake unusually long preparation, rigorous study of foreign languages, wide travels, to attain an acquaintance with various cultures and their history, and above all, to develop an insight into the intellectual and spiritual forces responsible for shaping human civilization. They also observed an almost universal lack of attention to the historical and philosophical foundations in the field of international and comparative education (Fraser and Brickman, 1968).



Another reason for the inadequacy of comparative approaches bound by political confines is the fact that while most of the national differences are generally explained at the policy level, most of the cross-cultural considerations call for a deeper analysis. Here, it is necessary to explain the locus of cultural values, of national policies, and of individual or collective behavior (both personal and organizational) in terms of their relative levels. This discussion will also help me explain the inexorable relationships among and the logical consistency of real beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Figure 1 below explains the inevitability of this linkage in the context of my BAB paradigm (Siddiqui, 1983).

Figure 1. Inevitability of BAB Linkage



Apparent inconsistencies between beliefs (values) and attitudes (policies) on the one hand, and between their attitudes and behaviors on the other have led observers to assume no relationships among them. Such conclusions are often based on the observer's:

(a) perception of people's behavior, which may not be linked with their professed (attitudes) policies and/or values;

(b) failure to see that unless properly implemented, policies do not constitute actual behavior(s) or operations; and

(c) failure to distinguish between real and perceived beliefs and/or attitudes.

The BAB theory stresses that normal intended human behavior does emanate from one's real attitudes, which in turn are inevitably based on one's real beliefs or values. However, it must be emphasized here that sometimes the actors themselves may not be aware of their real attitudes or beliefs.

It is because of the force of this inseparability of values, policies, and actions that many modern scholars of comparative studies even in the Western social sciences have acknowledged and underscored its significance in explaining social phenomena (Dewey, 1939; Bereday, 1966; Anderson, 1969; Nagel, 1969; Sjoberg, 1969; Margolis, 1971; and Tamney & Irani, 1986). The



problem has been that for various historical reasons, most Western scholars have opted for the separation of the church representing values, beliefs and faith and the state representing policies, regulations, and pronouncements. This is not so, however, with all cultures, especially those which openly uphold their ideologies more than is generally done in the Western democracies.

Yet another point of difference which needs to be made here is that most social scientists trained in the Western scholarly tradition have treated this linkage from the perspective of social determinism. Unlike this tradition, Muslim scholars such as Faruqi (1982) and Ba-Yunus (1985) take the telic standpoint which supports the idea of intentional and deliberate, and actional observance of sound societal values and attitudes in their day-to-day activities in all walks of life.

If the comparativists in social sciences in general and in adult education in particular miss these major cultural differences, they might be remiss to overgeneralize their own perceptions of various phenomena and thus to draw erroneous conclusions about other peoples.

It is gratifying to note a strong trend in CAE toward the recognition of the proper place in interpretive sub-field. Pachocinsky (1987) states: "knowledge of what is happening in other societies is even more important than that of one's own."

He further underscores the need for such an understanding by saying that comparative research proper is essentially cross-cultural because "social phenomena are systemic phenomena....related to various social systems and acquire their meaning within these systems."

Knoll (1988) rightly exhorts: "We should definitely abandon the fiction that education and science can remain neutral with regard to values." He again points out: "Adult education cannot operate without such rules governing educational intentions and ideals. It is not a neutral system with simple system with simple vocational goals."

By now BAB theory has sufficiently clarified the level and the locus of national policies on the three-tiered paradigm incorporating values, policies, and institutional operations. That is, policies and attitudes themselves need to be explained by analyzing values behind them. National policies of a culturally diversified democracy most likely reflect only the values of the politically dominant group which may not always explain the diverse adult education phenomena taking place there. Soviet Russia and the entire Communist bloc as well as countries like Bulgaria, India and many others adequately illustrate this point.

This is not to say that comparative analysis of cultures is easy.



In fact, one of the major reasons for modern comparativists to avoid these much-needed analyses was their pragmatism. They tended to choose the easy way out. Other justifications for the traditional approaches included: (a) psychoanalytical bases of anthropological approaches which placed the forces behind most actions in the subconscious mind of the individual member of the society; (b) a whole host of political reasons; (c) the Western scholars' assumption of exclusive rightness of their own perspectives; and (d) the material means leading to the establishment of diffusion and dissemination networks promoting their own narrow viewpoints.

There is, however, strong evidence that a climate of mutual learning (Charters, 1981) is being generated, and voices such as Poeggeler (1987), Patek and Savicky (1987), Kulich (1987), Bron Wojciechowska (1987), Bron, Jr. (1987), and Krajnc (1987). The world of education is waiting for more of similar voices from Western Europe and America.

At this stage of the discussion, let me graphically present my perception of the way an adult education phenomenon is to be viewed. Since I originally conceived it in the narrower context of adult education in the workplace (Training & Development), I call it CIRTAD, which stands for Comparative International Research in Training and Development (Siddiqui, 1988). "P" in the center of Figure 2: CIRTAD Framework

represents the adult education phenomena, each of which might be a subject of a comparative study across two or more cultures. The figure shows the complex task of the comparativist to analyze all types of constraints around the phenomenon in each of the cultural milieux compared.

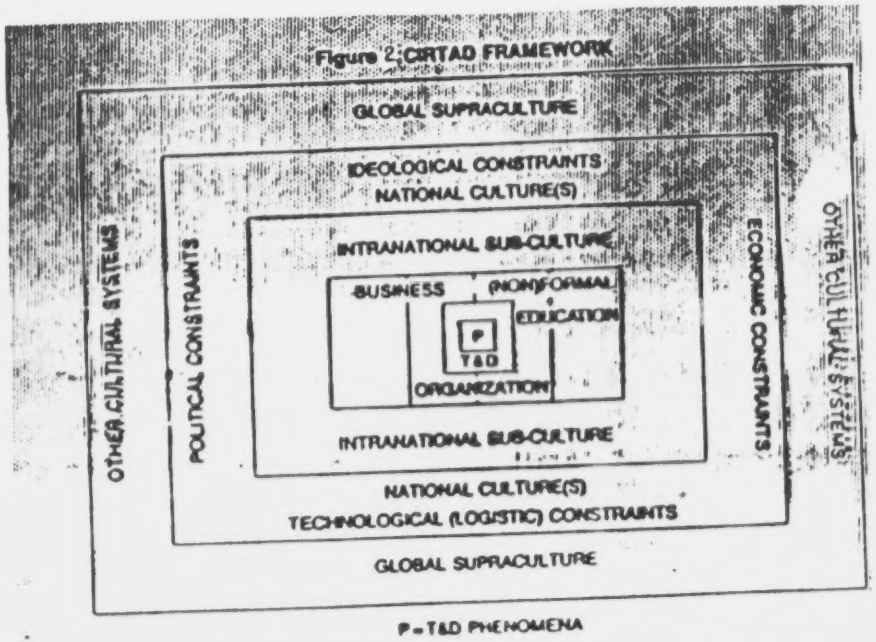
To deal effectively with such a complex task, the comparativists need to form inter-cultural teams and delve deep enough into the original sources of information about core and peripheral value systems of cultures being compared. This will help avoid shallow, unfounded and specious comparisons characteristic of Marquardt (1984), which is an interesting illustration of overgeneralization of one's impressions devoid of any scholarly rigor. He does not only assume America to be uni-cultural, but moré interestingly includes the entire seven eights of the human race as one culture, and compares them along seven dimensions.

Krajnc (1987) had suggested an eight-step model of building research teams to undertake comparative studies in adult education. I would like to expand that effort by presenting here some additional steps that I consider necessary. To ensure the successful operation of such inter-cultural teams, it is important to obtain an early consensus on the following four paradigmatic considerations: (a) definitions of the nature of the compared phenomenon (ontological); (b) approach(es) to knowing the phenomenon under study (epistemological); (c) nature



of the theoretical explanation(s) to be applied to the phenomenon (metatheoretical); and (d) the research strategies suited to the phenomenon (methodological).

Figure 2: CIRTAD FRAMEWORK



CIRTAD: SEQUENTIAL STEPS

1. Do networking/build team(s)
2. Identify problem /phenomenon
3. Define problem/phenomenon in terms of needs
4. Plan study goal and objectives
5. Identify method and design
6. Determine data needs
7. Plan logistics: strategize
8. Divide and assign tasks to members
9. Collect data
10. Reassemble team(s)
11. Discuss data: to obtain consensus on meaning
12. Describe data interpret "national" data /cultural data
13. Juxtapose bilateral/multinational data
14. Identify similarities across nations/cultures
15. Isolate differences across nations /cultures
16. Trace patterns and relationships
17. Identify reasons for similarities and dissimilarities
18. Prepare report, translate, and disseminate results.



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## Appendix: Materials

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Countries covered: Worldwide)
Philosophy, Theory, Research, Policy

A historic and classic piece of work by a polyglot comparativist of Temple University, Tawhid has attempted to lay down the foundations of a metatheoretical approach to cross-cultural comparative studies in any field. Its particular significance to educators of adults lies in its exceptional exposition of principles required for the establishment of a world social order. This is a must reading for a comparativist in adult education.

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Research, Sociology
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Since 1979, Lulat assisted by Guillen has compiled annual lists of articles related to comparative education. The lists draw upon 26 journals and the pertinent articles are broadly classified as follows: adult and non-formal education, comparative education-general, comparative education-theory/methodology, educational planning/educational reform, general interest studies, higher education, international education/international students, Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, Mediterranean, Middle East, and North Africa.

# ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE: A COMPARISON OF CANADA AND SWEDEN

Paper Presented at V11th World Congress of Comparative Education, Montreal, June 26 - 30, 1989.

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## BACKGROUND

The late 1960s and early 1970s can be seen as the days of glory for adult education. Government agencies and international organizations like OECD and UNESCO promoted adult education as an important instrument in the overall efforts to achieve a just and more equitable world. Expressions like the "Forgotten people" were coined. There was a reaction, stronger in some parts of the world than in others, against the professionalization of adult education that had occurred since World War II. Adult education was looking back to its roots when it had been part of the struggle for democracy.

The 1980s saw a change in mood. No longer was it the equality argument that was in the centre focus but economic efficiency. There have been two main forces in society that have reinforced the connection between economic and educational policies. The first force concerns government's changed philosophy on public expenditure. The "new economics" of the 1980s has guided policy making in a large part of the Western World, particularly in Great Britain and the U.S.A. It is based on a skeptical view of the ability of the government to do public good and on a belief in the free play of the market forces (Seldon, 1983). The effort to reduce public spending has not only been promoted on ideological grounds. Serious budget deficits have also forced countries governed by traditional Keynesian values to reduce public spending on, among other things, education.

The reform strategy and the extent to which broad policy statements on adult education get implemented differ from country to country. The purpose of this paper is to compare developments in Canada and Sweden. A difficulty is the lack of statistics and other information particularly on Canada. Further it is questionable to what extent it is possible to at all speak about Canada in a general way. As education is a provincial responsibility the situation differs across the country (see below).

To give a background to the comparisons a framework for addressing adult education and social change is briefly outlined.

## THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The theme of this paper can be captured in two interrelated questions; to what extent does education (adult education) serve to make society better in making it more equal and to what extent does it serve to legitimate and even enhance existing social and economic issues (Richardson, 1986)?

### Two paradigms on adult education and equality

There are two main contrasting paradigms that inform how questions on equality are being addressed: the consensus and conflict paradigms. These two paradigms offer fundamentally different views of the structure of society, and differ widely in their notions of inequality. Thus they afford two different potential sketches of the role of adult education in society as it relates to stratification, mobility, social control and who gets what kind of adult education.

A fundamental assumption on which the consensus paradigm in the form of "functionalist" theories rests is that societies cannot survive unless their members share at least some perceptions, attitudes and values in common (Lenski, 1966). Consensus theories emphasize common beliefs and values; conflict is secondary and coercion is seen as either temporary or to the benefit of society as a whole. Davis sums up the functionalist perspective on inequality when he writes

> Social inequality is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons (Davis, 1949, p.3, cited in Lenski, 1966, p.15).

According to this paradigm, an unequal society does not arise out of the vested interests of single individuals or of groups, but out of the needs of society as a whole. Thus inequality is seen not only as inevitable but also necessary and beneficial to all, since individual survival is contingent upon the survival and well-being of society (Lenski, 1966). In addition the system of classification in any society is essentially an expression of the value system of that society. The rewards accruing to certain positions are a function of the degree to which their quality, performances and possessions measure up to the standards set by society.

Those working within the conflict paradigm approach questions of social change, inequality, mobility and stratification, hence adult education, from the standpoint of the various individuals and interest groups within society. Social inequality is seen as an expression of the struggle for power, privileges and goods and services in short supply. Conflict theorists emphasize competing interests and elements of domination, exploitation and coercion. The word conflict somewhat erroneously gives the impression that the theory focuses only on dramatic events such as revolution, war, and other forms of *open* conflict. Its main argument , however, is not simply that society consists of conflict but that open conflict is only the tip of the iceberg (Collins, 1985, p. 47).

The intellectual contribution of the work of Marx and Engels lies at the core of the conflict paradigm. In classical Marxism, the "forces and relations of production" are central to class conflict. Material conditions determine human consciousness, and social classes see the world differently depending on their economic interests and the social conditions which they inhabit. While classes may see the world differently, however, the dominant ideas in any society are those of the ruling class.

The two paradigms present different views on the social functions of education. Parsons (1959), the leading consensus theorist, sees schools as instruments of selection . They function as agencies of socialization whose role is the allocation of manpower to appropriate positions. Socialization, in turn, is broken up into the two constituent areas of (1) commitment to the broad values of society and (2) commitment to the performance of a specific type of role within that society. According to Parsons, the main process of differentiation - selection in/through education takes place on a single main axis of achievement. Achievement is both different for different people and differentially valued. From society's point of view, according to Parsons, this is a typical allocation of human resources relative to the adult role system and, being based on widely shared values, is considered fair. Parsons states:

> Probably the most fundamental condition underlying this process is the sharing of common values by the two adult agencies involved, the family and the school. In this case, the core is the shared valuation of achievement. It includes, above all, recognition that it is fair to give differential rewards for different levels of achievement, so long as there has been fair access to opportunity, and fair chance that these rewards lead to higher-order opportunities for the successful (Parsons, 1959, p. 30).

As Parsons notes, this view of education embodies the fundamental value of equality of opportunity in its emphasis on initial equality of access and on differential achievement.

The structural-functionalist view of socialization has been criticized because it treats education as a unified, coherent mechanism in a world of consensus. The functionalist framework is based upon the implicit assumption that the pedagogic actions of families from different social classes, as well as those of the schools, work together in an harmonious way to transmit a cultural heritage which is considered the property of the whole society and that the educational system promotes mobility in a fair and equal way (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 488).

In contrast, the conflict theorists maintain that the structure of symbols and of knowledge in educational institutions is that of the dominant culture and is therefore intimately related to the principles and practices of cultural and social control (Apple, 1982). Instead of regarding the education system as being fair and equal, serving society at large, they view education as an instrument for domination which reflects the inequalities of society something that is reflected in the selection and lack of mobility that occurs. According to this perspective, then, schools reproduce and legitimate the ubiquitous power structures of today's society.

Althusser (1971), in his influential essay *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* suggests the school as the most important source in the reproduction of capitalist society. It is through the school that one comes to accept as "real" one's class identity and thereby one's relation to the mode of production. While the school is seen as relatively autonomous from the economy, it is part of the state apparatus and through this it transmits the ruling ideology. According to Althusser, it is through instruction, social interaction and other school experiences that ideological and class positions are transmitted.

In the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976) the education system is viewed as an integral element in the reproduction of the prevailing class structure of society. Because of the structural correspondence between social relationships in the educational system and relationships of production in the economic system, education integrates pupils into the system of the economy. According to the authors, the structure of social relations in education not only inures students to the discipline of the workplace, but it also develops modes of self-presentation, self-image, and social class identification which are considered crucial in hiring and which therefore work to preserve the division of labour.

A third perspective on reproduction is provided in the work of Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977; Harker, 1984). Bourdieu examines the role of culture in the reproduction of class hierarchies, and further links culture, class and domination. Bourdieu maintains that the culture of the school system is that of the dominant group, those who control political, economic, and social resources. According to Bourdieu, then, we have also to talk of *cultural capital*. Educational institutions are seen as favouring those who through their family background already possess cultural capital, which then acts as a selective filter in the reproductive process.

The extent to which reproduction theories have influenced perceptions of how the relationship between education and society is perceived can be charted in the shift from the overly optimistic, almost naive approach of the 1950's and 60's to the critical vision of the 1970's. Nonetheless, there has been reaction from radical quarters against the determinism of reproduction theories, especially as it is developed in structuralist versions of Marxism. This criticism suggests that the reproduction thesis does not sufficiently take into account human agency, people's capacity to act in order to either resist or change situations (Giroux, 1983; Simon, 1985). They further maintain that reproduction theories do not address the possibility of what Gramsci would call counter-hegemonic education.

**Hegemony and the boundaries of adult education**

The notion of hegemony refers to the way one social class exercises political, cultural or economic influence over other classes. According to Entwistle (1979), it is the establishment of a moral or cultural influence, rather than physical coercion or political power, that is the basis of

Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Social control occurs through wide-ranging consent to and acquiescence in the culture and ideas of the dominant hegemony. In Marxian terms, hegemony is the base of the false consciousness of the working class and according to Williams (1975, p. 183) the importance of Gramsci's work lies in his exploration of ways to break the bourgeois hegemony over workers' minds.

Debate in the sociology of education around the notion of counter-hegemony is mainly concerned with how teachers within the formal educational system can create similar liberatory strategies (see Giroux, 1983; Shor and Freire, 1987). As Entwistle points out, while Gramsci's writings refer to the schooling of children, the key to his theory of counter hegemonic education lies in the education of adults, especially workers (Entwistle, 1979, p.111) that is, Gramsci saw counter-hegemonic education primarily as something imbricated with the political education of adults. It is with this that the distinctive nature of some forms of adult education start to appear, and a base in social theory can be found to justify claims for the uniqueness of adult education. It departs from the assumption that adults directly can change social structure, whereas children cannot. This statement should not be interpreted as a defense of subjectivism (which stresses the knowledgeable human agent) as superior to objectivism (which emphasizes the predominance of society over the individual): as Giddens argues in his analysis of structuration theory, we need to formulate a coherent account of change that acknowledges both structure and agency if we are to come to terms with Marx's aphorism that "men make history but not in circumstances of their own choosing" (Giddens, 1984, p.xxi).

In discussing counter-hegemony, the role of adult education as an integral part of social movements broader struggle for change is central. When analyzing adult education and social change it is therefore important, a) to focus on the extent to which adult education is directed toward either the collective or the individual, b) to realize that organized adult education as well as self-education can be of a collective or individual nature, and c) to question the extent to which the educational activities are connected to a broader social and political struggle.

**Participation in adult education**

Adult education and equality is generally approached by comparing the extent to which various segments of the population participate in adult education activities.

Participation has to be understood in relation to the processes that govern the social construction of attitudes toward adult education and the social functions that adult education are allocated in society. A "system" of adult education that implicitly takes for granted that the adult is a conscious, self directed individual in possession of the instruments vital to making use of the available possibilities for adult education and that relies on self-selection to recruit the participants, will by necessity widen, not narrow, the educational and cultural gaps in society. Bourdieu's concept of habitus provides a fruitful perspective on this phenomenon. Through socialization within the family, the school and, later on, in working life, a positive disposition towards adult education becomes a part of some group's habitus but not of others. It is this phenomenon that Bergsten (1977) refers to when he shows that non competency oriented adult education is linked to a leisure style consisting of types of cultural activities usually found in the middle and upper classes. The relationship between habitus and conceptions of adult education is further elaborated on by Larsson (1986). He found that non-skilled workers with short formal education occupied in work that offered limited possibilities for growth were characterized by a very restrictive conception of adult education.

From a consensus point of view this widening gap can be seen as inevitable and acceptable as long as there has been prior equality of opportunity and as long as the selection is based on achievement. It is this very notion of equality of opportunity that is questioned by the conflict



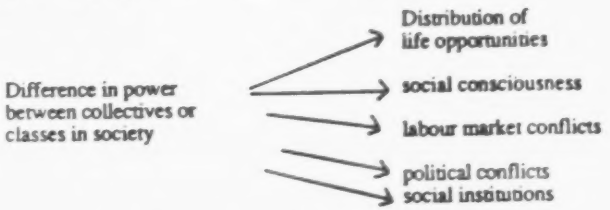


perspective. The latter will argue that the subsequent stress on achievement only serves to legitimate inequality. Pointing to the vicious circle of poor childhood conditions, short formal education, repetitive jobs, reduced opportunities to participate in political life, and so on, conflict theorists maintain that "factual" opportunities to participate are far from equal.

A crucial issue related to the social functions of education and inequality is the link between supply of and demand for adult education, and the processes that govern who gets what kind of adult education. Broström and Ekeroth (1977) claim that in order to understand why the effects of adult education on equality are so small we have to look at the way in which demand determines what the adult education organizations supply. They claim that the activities of these organizations have been a response to manifest social and individual demands rather than to the needs stemming from inequalities in society. A policy for equity would imply a striving for equalization, which, in turn, entails a wish or a conception that certain groups shall "consume" a supply. This raises two problems that are very seldom solved. The first is to stimulate the demands among the groups for which a measure is taken. The second is to under-stimulate the demands from groups that are not direct objects for a measure. A financial formula based on the market forces will make this policy impossible to achieve and reflects the "true" social functions adult education has been awarded in society.

**Adult education and the state**

The discussion on what educational institutions offer as well as student funding highlights the relationship between the state and adult education institutions. It is argued here that the impact of social, political, economic and cultural structure and forces on adult education should be understood in terms of social class power mobilization. This is not to deny the importance of structured or hegemonic power but it recognizes that parliament, in principle, mobilizes power into desired policies and reforms that may be made to serve interests that are antagonistic to capital (Esping-Andersen, 1989). According to the power-mobilization thesis, the way the state chooses to act can be seen as a reflection of the division of power between the most important collectives or classes in society. There exist, in the industrial democracies, two main categories of power resources: on the one hand there are those based upon control over the means of production, and on the other, the ability to mobilize large numbers of individuals in similar situations to collective action, primarily political and labour organizations that facilitate collective actions among the wage earners (Korpi, 1978). Korpi shows the relation between power and society as shown in the following way (op. cite. p.65)




## CANADA AND SWEDEN: A FEW COMPARATIVE REMARKS

Unfortunately a paper of this nature does not allow for any thorough comparisons. Instead the presentation will be limited to a few remarks that are intended to give some, although superficial, background to the discussion on adult education and equality in the two countries.

## Structure of the state

The special form of federation that has developed in Canada due to the historical realities on which it was founded, its linguistic and cultural variety, as well as the enormous size of the country has resulted in a strong preference for decentralized solutions while at the same time making National unity the major issue. The constant preoccupation with establishing national unity has had the consequence that Canada is one of the few major industrialized countries where the left and right polarization has been deflected into disputes over regional and national unity (Porter, 1965). Equality in this sense becomes regional equality.

Sweden is characterized by a strong centralization of power. This does not only apply to government but is the case all through the Swedish society in general, i.e. labour unions, employers federation and popular movements. However it should be noted that there is a strong development towards decentralization of government, e.g. in the area of education.

Departing from Korpi's theory of power resources it is of interest to compare Canada and Sweden with regard to the nature of the welfare state. Departing from principles of rights and stratification that result in qualitatively different arrangements between state, market and family, Esping-Andersen (1989) distinguishes between three clusters of welfare states. In the "liberal" welfare state means-tested assistance, modest universal transfers or modest social insurance plans predominate. These are directed mainly to a clientele of low income that are state dependent. Entitlement rules are often associated with stigma and benefits are typically modest. The state encourages the market, either passively by guaranteeing only a minimum, or actively by subsidizing private welfare schemes. The consequence, according to Esping-Andersen is that this form of welfare state minimizes de-commodification, and erects a stratification order that blends a relative equality of poverty among state welfare recipients, market-differentiated welfare among the majorities, and a class-political dualism between the two. Canada together with the U.S. and Australia is regarded to be the archetypical example of the "liberal" welfare state model (Esping-Andersen, 1989; Wolfe 1989).

Sweden together with Norway are the clearest cases of what has become known as the social democracy regime-type welfare states. Here the principles of universalism and de-commodifying social rights are extended also to the new middle classes. The state promotes an equality of the highest standards, rather than an equality of minimal needs. Thus workers are guaranteed full participation in the rights enjoyed by the better off. Through social policies the ideal is to not maximize dependence on the family but increase the individual's capacity for independence. In this respect, the model is a fusion of liberalism and socialism. Esping-Andersen sees the most salient characteristic of the social democratic welfare state being the strong link between welfare and work. It is a state fully committed to full employment but where the state in order to carry the costs of maintaining a solidaristic, universalistic and de-commodifying welfare system must minimize social problems and maximize revenue income.

## Education

The role of adult education has to be understood in the perspective of the overall educational system.

Before 1950 Sweden had a short compulsory education (6-7 years) and a highly selective secondary system. Less than five percent of a year group completed the gymnasium, a necessity to be eligible to continue to university (Härnqvist, 1989). The highly selective and hierarchical system of parallel schools in which those who had "the right" family background received a very different education from those who were less fortunate was seen by the social democrats as a



monument over the old class society. In the struggle to tear down the old society and replace it with a welfare state, reform of the educational system became a key issue.

A comprehensive nine year Grundskola was fully implemented in the 1960s. It was followed by reforms of the upper secondary and post secondary systems, all with the intent to democratize edution. Presently the upper secondary system consists of 27 different lines, 2-4 years in duration, out of which only some give direct access to university. Today over 95 per cent continue to upper secondary education. The social distribution of academically oriented choices is despite the long reform cycle and political concern for social equality still very skewed with a marked domination of children from families with academic background. This is also the case in higher education where enrolment is highly influenced by socio-economic effects (see Härnqvist 1989 for a review of the formal educational system and social equality). The fact that four decades of reform intended to democratize education have been only partially successful should not conceal the political will to overcome educational inequalities.

While education has been in the centre of the political arena in Sweden Canadian education policy has been regarded as one of the least "politicized" in the world (OECD, 1976). The Canadian situation is a consequence of education being a provincial matter and under provincial jurisdiction.

Up until very recently the Canadian school system has been less elitist than the Swedish and there did not exist an equivalent to the Swedish parallel and highly hierarchical system. By the 1960s there existed across Canada a comprehensive educational system for grades 1 - 12. Today the participation rate in education by the 7 - 24 year population as well as the retention rates in grade 10-12 are more or less the same in Canada and Sweden. This however is a very recent phenomenon. In 1960 the enrolment ratios for the 20-24 age group in education was about twice as high in Canada as in Sweden (UNESCO, 1972). In 1956-8 the estimated retention rates for grades 9 to 11 varied from a high of 76 per cent in British Columbia to a low of 48 per cent in Quebec and by 1969-71 the figures had increased to 90 per cent in some of the provinces with a low of 71 per cent in Prince Edward Island (Munroe, 1974, 215). The fact that the population in general got more years of schooling does not imply that it was a democratic system without marked inequalities in participation (see e.g. OECD 1976, Pike, 1981).

The explosion of post secondary education in Canada had largely to do with the establishment of two years community colleges that took place in the various provinces between 1965 and 1975. The Canadian version of the colleges with their comprehensive curriculum including university transfer, technical/career, vocational, basic adult education and community educational programs, open admissions policy, low tuition fees, course scheduling in non-traditional time slots, catered to those that traditionally did not go for university (see Dennison & Gallagher, 1986).

These comparisons are of interest in various ways. Firstly it is worth noting that as a result of the Swedish reforms the gap between the two countries in participation rate among the under 25 years of age has disappeared. Secondly it is evident that in both countries the expansion of the educational system has created vast educational inequalities between generations. Due to the historical differences in the system, these differences are substantially larger in Sweden.

Reviewing Canadian and Swedish policy documents and the scholarly literature it is evident that the role of education for social equality is more pronounced in the Swedish context. However, it is worth pointing out that there has been considerable attention in Canada to equality for national unity related to bilingualism and multiculturalism (Savage, 1988).

## Adult Education and Social Equality in Canada and Sweden

In order for adult education to contribute towards social equality it is required that the underprivileged are recruited and that the education is a means to strengthen their command over life chances. Unfortunately there is very little research on the long term effects of participating in adult education and conclusions are usually drawn in directly, e.g. referring to what kind of education a person is involved in.

As a point of departure Table 1 contains comparable statistics of participation for Canada and Sweden.

Table 1

Proportion of Participants in Adult Education in 1983 in groups of different backgrounds of formal education. Percentage within each cell respectively.

| Educational background | Canada | Sweden |
|---|---|---|
| Less than 9 years of education | 5 | 21 |
| Upper secondary school | 19 | 46 |
| University degree | 41 | 64 |

The Canadian statistics are based on a Statistics Canada Survey (Devereaux, 1985).
The Swedish data is based on the ULF - statistics (Olofsson & Rubenson, 1985).

As shown in Table 1 it is four times as common that a person with less than 9 years of education participates in adult education in Sweden than in Canada. In fact the educationally disadvantaged in Sweden participate to a slightly higher degree than those with upper secondary education in Canada.

How can these differences be explained. Drawing on the theoretical perspective presented above the discussion will focus on the role of adult education in the two societies, government policies, the structure of adult education all seen in relationship to the power mobilization among main collectives.

### Historic role of adult education

The democratization in Sweden during the last century was closely related to the rise of powerful popular movements, particularly the labour movement, the temperance movement and the free church movement. These popular movements ran their own adult education through folk high schools and study circle associations. The ethos was "knowledge for the people by the people." Adult edution was seen as the intellectual weaponry on the movements. Up until the 1960s the majority of the members of parliament had popular adult education as their only education beyond elementary school (Arvidson, 1989). Popular adult education quickly became well organized and developed a structure through which it could offer courses in most communities. Despite its free standing it gradually got more and more dependent on state funding. The hegemonic implication of the rise of popular adult education is fundamental. The adult education arena of the popular movements could, just like the dominant culture, select, classify, distribute, transmit and evaluate what is considered to be the "movement's knowledge" ideology and morality.





Looking at Canada an equivalent counter hegemonic adult education force never developed (see CAAE & ICEA, 1960; OECD, 1976; Welton, 1987a). This is ot to deny that there have been social movements that during certain periods played a crucial role in adult education (see Welton, 1987b). The best known of these is the Antigonish Movement. However there never developed any equivalent to the Swedish popular adult education. The voluntary adult education sector in Canada, in the beginning of the century, was not in confrontation with the state but saw its rask rather to promote peace and quiet and to act for the raising of the material and spiritual standard of the people. A consequence of the developments is that while one in Canada regards adult education of itself to be a social movement this is inconceivable in Sweden. In the latter country adult education is only seen as an instrument of a particular popular movement.

The state has been increasingly involved in adult education in both countries. Since the 1960s this has been closely related to the economy. First through the impact of the human capital perspective in the early 1960s and later in the 1980s with the development towards an information economy. This has resulted in public educational institutions increasingly moving into adult education. One difference between the two countries regarding the economic role is the opportunity for adult education that has been created in Sweden as part of the active labour market strategy (see Ellström & Svedin, 1989). As pointed out by Esping-Andersen above this strategy is at the core of the social democratic welfare state.

### Government policy on adult education

The Swedish recruitment figures in Table 1 can be seen as a result of the historical imporatnce of adult education in Sweden and the role that adult education came to play in the Labour government's ambitious attempts during the 1970s to achieve greater equality of the standard of living. The Labour movement did not simply focus on economic conditions but also took into account its members' social, political and cultural situations. Thus measures were attempted to achieve a democratization of political and cultural life that paralleled changes in working life. Adult education was viewed as a key instrument in this endeavour and was awarded a prominent position in educational policy during the seventies.

The radical adult education policy of the 1970s is strikingly different from the previous direction that parliament had taken. While the earlier post World War II reforms particularly the major 1967 reform had their roots in the same elitist conception of equality (equality of opportunity) as that guiding the restructuring of higher education, the 1970s reforms were guided by a concept of equality of outcome.

Reviewing the Canadian documents and looking at the arguments for involvement of school boards in adult education and the creation of community colleges the underlying concept of equality is that of equality of opportunity and resembles in principle the concept that governed Swedish policy until the change in the 1970s (see e.g. CAAE-ICEA 1960; OECD 1976; Dennison & Callagher, 1986).

The difference in the radical and elitist concepts of equality has consequences for which kind of obstacles that a policy is intendedto overcome. The expansion of adult education opportunities in Canada and Sweden during the 50s and 60s was mostly aimed at overcoming institutional obstacles, creating access to educational opportunities. The radical policy of the 1970s means that situational obstacles and particularly psychological obstances were addressed. Ultimately the government's task was to remove situational obstacles to participation, particularly factors of timing and of expense that tended to counteract enrolment. The problem was generally characterized in terms of the balance between targeted and general measures, given the knowledge that the consumers of adult education were generally those with ample resources of all kinds.

A similar focus on outreach activities and study assistance for adults informed the selective measures presented in the 1975 Bill on adult education (Government Bill 1975:23). These outreach activities were meant to serve as instruments to bring about the desired change of attitudes in the adult population. If success were achieved, study assistance for adults would then guarantee that the target group realized the very real possibility to continue their education. The complete package of measures, consisting of the laws on the right to study leave, on the position of shop stewards, on state subsidies for outreach activities and on study assistance for adults was in complete harmony with the stated goals of the Bill and typify the kind of organizational renewal Holmes (1967) argues has to follow ideological change in educational policy. In addition to these measures, powerful reinforcement to the general resources for adult education was given.

While the selective measures of the 1975 Bill largely followed the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Outreach and Adult Study Aid, they were somewhat less stringent than the Commission suggested. Nor did the Bill contain any plan of the pace at which the measures were meant to proceed. This becomes important because in any analysis of reform studies it is necessary not only to see to what extent measures have benefitted their intended target group but also to see if these measures could have influenced future development. Outcomes of the 1970s reform cycle cannot be correctly interpreted without keeping this in mind.

In Canada no similar comprehensive reform package intended to reach the hard to reach was launched during the 1970s.

The development of a radical adult education policy can be explained in terms of Korpi's thesis on power mobilization in this case by the labour movement. The Swedish Federation of Labour (LO) congress of 1966 assigned the LO secretariat the task to assist in making future adult education reforms which would accord with LO's declarations in these matters. LO's opinion was presented in a report that attracted much attention, *Fackföreningsrörelsen och Vuxenutbildning* (The Trade Union Movement and Adult Education) (LOVUX I, 1969). This report argues that there are two main themes informing its attention to adult education, equality and justice. It further points out that adult education is one of several channels for moving society toward the ideological goals of the Labour Movement. These early ideas were developed further and made concrete in a subsequent report, *Vuxenutbildning. Fakta - Erfarenheter Förslag* (Adult Education. Facts - Experiences - Suggestions) (LOVUX II), presented in 1971. This publication documents that adult education has been used primarily by those already well prepared to study and that accordingly no positive privileges can be seen to accrue to the LO collective from adult education. It points rather to the widening gap between those who do and do not use adult education. This analysis thus informs the fuller development of their expressed goals of a redistribution of resources.

In order to change the existing patterns of participation, LO demanded high priority be given to measures aimed at neglected groups. This was expressed in terms such as "A just distribution in the field of adult education does not mean equal shares for everyone, but more for those that have received less" (LO, 1971:206). The LO demand for action in the adult education field was not an isolated event but an expression of the general radicalization of the trade union movement at the end of the 1960s. On the initiative of the LO, the government set up several committees assigned to giving suggestions for legislation aimed at increasing wage earners' influence on working life. In the middle of the 1970s this resulted in a series of Government bills, for example the 1975 law on co-determination at work, and the 1974 law on the position of shop stewards.

In order to bring about cultural changes to parallel the changes in working life, the trade unions called for measures to democratize political and cultural life. The government reacted promptly to the demands from LO in Government Bill 1970:35 a change of action was announced:



the Bill stated that in further reforms of adult education one of the most important issues to be addressed would be how to reach those who have little or insufficient education (Government Bill 1970:35: 1)

It seems reasonable to suggest that the increasing social power of the trade-union movement in Sweden explains the state's altered ways of acting in adult education matters. The strength of the labour movement and its position on adult education is crucial not only for government actions but also for what happens within industry with regard to education and training. Thus the participation rate in employer sponsored education and training in 1986 was roughly twice that of the workforce in Canada (Morrison & Rubenson, 1989).

### Structure of adult education

In view of the discussion on hegemony and the boundaries of adult education above it is of interest to compare the structure of adult education in the two countries. One striking difference in the pattern is the much greater role that public institutions play in Canada (see Deveraux, 1988). 41 per cent of Canadians were enrolled in public institutions. 18 per cent in employer organized activities, 24 per cent in activities organized by voluntary organizations including professional associations (8 per cent) and 12 per cent in private commercial schools. Looking at the 1983 figures (Olofsson & Rubenson, 1985) close to 50 per cent of the participants were enrolled in some form of popular adult education linked to a popular movement. The employer sponsored education plays a larger role in Sweden (33 per cent) while the public institutions have a relatively smaller share of the participants (15 per cent).

It is common to talk about education in terms of investment and consumption. To account for some but far from the majority of adult education one ought to add a third category, that of adult education for collective mobilization. The intention is not to provide for individual mobility but to change the living conditions for the collective.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Despite the high level of participation in Sweden reported in Table 1, one has to be careful when assuming that adult eduation has had a profound effect on social equality. Firstly the participation rate is still much higher among the well educated than the less educated. On the positive side is the relative high participation among the disadvantaged as well as the fact that the latter in relative terms showed a greater increase in the period 1975 - 83 than the well educated (see Rubenson, 1989).

In assessing the actual effects either in the creation of life chances or in the intention of bridging education inequalities, it is worthwhile noting that most adult education activities are in the form of short courses. The popular associations' study-circle activities, the main component of popular adult education, usually last a maximum of thirty hours. Courses organized by the trade unions and in-service training courses tend to vary in length. In most cases, however, the courses are short, especially in-service training courses for the under-educated. Thus, with a certain amount of exaggeration it can be argued that almost 80 per cent of Swedish participation in adult education has litle or no effect on educational disparities in terms of the number of years of education people acquire. As for the remaining 20 percent, almost half are in post-secondary education where few of the under-educated can be found.

One is forced to ask if it is meaningful to draw parallels between formal or childhood education and adult education when considering the effects of education. One objection to this would be that our present understanding is based on studies of the formal school system. Researchers have not observed the effects of non-formal adult education such as popular adult

education and in-service training. Popular adult education is especially significant as several scholars have shown its importance to various popular movements and its place in the development of the welfare state (for example, Arvidson, 1989). The emphasis on popular adult education, it is argued, is justified by its ability to reach and activate groups with little or an insufficient education and by the fact that its particular teaching method, the study circle, is suited to the new groups. However, this reveals certain assumptions about popular adult education: that it works in a socializing way by giving practical insight into the rules of democracy; that it confers knowledge; that it acts as a springboard to more advanced studies; and that it introduces the individual into the world of popular movements with its collective resources for action.

In the absence of more profound research on the collective effects of adult education one can only call attention to the fact that the results presented in this article show that, from the traditional perspectives of individual mobility and academic credentialism, the gap between the educated and the under-educated has not decreased. In order to be able to answer the question of how different forms of adult education effect a redistribution of social, economic and cultural resources, a better knowledge of the long-range effects of education is needed, especially in the arena of non-formal adult education. What the experience of the Swedish reforms in adult education teach is that ear-marked allocations to clearly defined target groups are a prerequisite of change. Unless such measures are taken, and unless measures to promote recruitment are significantly increased, the gap between reform ideology and actual results will continue to widen.



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# Comparative Study of Adult Education Institutions and Organizations between the U.S. and Japan by the Use of Characteristics Mirroring Analysis

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## I. INTRODUCTION

This is an experimental and cooperative work between American and Japanese researchers in comparative adult education. The first purpose of study is to examine the validity of the method; Characteristics Mirroring Analysis which is proposed by Miura. The second purpose is to apply the method to a practical comparison of different adult education topics.

We selected the topic of adult education agencies as a theme of comparison in order to illustrate how the method works. Using the proposed method, we pointed out some characteristics of the two countries and responded to each other's analysis in order to clarify differences and similarities of the selected topic.

Obviously this is not a complete research , but a preparatory discussion result. However, hopefully it can lead us to a deeper analysis of the topic in future.

## II. PREMISE OF THE STUDY

### 1. The Goal of Comparative Study

The goal of comparative study is to find differences and similarities of characteristics of adult education in different cultures and context, and to learn how to apply the result of study to the respective societies.

### 2. Difficulty of Setting Criteria

It is necessary to set a series of criteria in order to conduct a comparative study. However, it is often impossible or meaningless to establish any kinds of

objective criteria or measuring units by which one can compare different characteristics of adult education. Because there exists no common criterion which has the same meaning in different cultures and context.

### 3. Characteristics Mirroring Analysis Substitute for the Objective Criteria

One can judge who is taller without using objective measuring units such as inches and feet. We request Mr. A and Mr.B to stand straight and side by side in front of the wall. Then, it will be clear that Mr.A is one head taller than Mr.B. In this example, we compare two person's height by using Mr.A or Mr.B's height as criterion. That is to say , Mr.A is one head taller according to Mr.B's height. Thus, one can compare not only their height, but also other features by using characteristics of respective persons without using objective measuring units. The method of Characteristics Mirroring Analysis is based on the similar logics. We can use individual characteristics of adult education in different cultures as a criterion to reflect and explain each other's differences and similarities.

### 4. Lack of Objectivity of Characteristics Mirroring Analysis

Obviously this kind of comparative method is insufficient in objectivity and scientific accuracy. However, this is the only way, without using objective measuring units, to compare educational characteristics in different cultural and social settings.

### 5. Five Steps of Characteristics Mirroring Analysis

(1). The first step: Determining the topic to be compared

One must determine the problem or the area to be compared first, that is to say, one can compare systems, programs, organizations and institutions, learners, training, facilities, finance and so on.

(2). The second step: Identifying the characteristics of the selected topic.

One must identify cultural, social, institutional and methodological characteristics of the selected topic and put them in order according to the importance of the nature which can be judged by the researcher.

One researcher may not be able to identify all the characteristics. One may be also biased in the process of identification and evaluation of the characteristics. Therefore, in this case, an appropriate way to identify the characteristics is an international team work.

(3). The third step: Logics of Mirroring Analysis

The characteristics of Japanese adult education is a mirror to reflect the nature of American adult education, and conversely the characteristics of American adult education is a mirror to reflect the nature of Japanese adult education. Using two kinds of mirrors,

Japanese and American, in pararell way, one can describe differences and similarities and also analyse their causes and reasons. Individual characteristic is a mirror to reflect the characteristic of the counterpart. If one can identify 4 characteristics from country A and 5 characteristics from country B, there must be 9 processes of mirroring analysis.

The operational process of mirroring analysis will be as follows.

Firstly, select the most important characteristics of country A as a mirror to reflect the nature of the counterpart. Secondly, in turn, select the most important characteristic of country B and use it in the same way to reflect the nature of country A. Thirdly, select the second most important characteristics of country A to analyse the nature of the counterpart. One can repeat this process in turn until all the characteristics are utilized as a mirroring tool.

(4) Combining the Results of Characteristics Mirroring Analysis

After completion of mirroring analysis one can organize and explain the total nature of differences and similarities by combining the results.

(5) Examining the applicability and transferabity of the study results if necessary.





## III. Comparison of Characteristics between the U.S. and Japanese Adult Education Agencies

1. Adult education agencies constitute a comprehensive array from public and private sectors. Influence of the public sector is important, however, the private sector's influence is also considerable. ( U.S.A.)

Adult education agencies are overwhelmingly public sector oriented. Roles of adult education organizations in the private sector are significantly smaller comparing with institutions in the public sector.
( Japan )

2. Adult education organizations in the private sector are very much dependent on various kinds of governmental leadership and financial support. (Japan )

- Adult education agencies do not receive financial support from governments and are not dependant on governments for leadership. ( U.S.A. )

3. Adult education agencies are responsive to social, technological and other changes of the society both at the local and national levels. ( U.S.A. )

Adult education agencies are responsive to changes of the society, but adaptation is mainly led by governmental guidance. However, governments of all levels

utilize advice collected from locally and nationally concerned and informed individuals. ( Japan )

4. Adult education programs and other activities are similar due to the dominance and leadership of the public institutions. ( Japan )

Adult education activities are varied in terms of content, methods and financial support of different agencies. ( U.S.A. )

5. Volunteers play a significant role in adult education agencies. ( U.S.A.)

Volunteer activities are encouraged as a matter of policy, however, the actual incidence of volunteer participation is still limited and does not have a major impact. ( Japan )

6. Adult education service in different areas often become sectionalized and lack cooperation. The Lifelong Education Promoting Conference is organized nationwide to coordinate different adult education services.
( Japan )

Adult education, in general, is not dependent on government policy nor stated cooperative arrangement.
( U.S.A. )

7. Educational institutions ( school and colleges ) provide significant programs in adult education.
( U.S.A. )

Schools and colleges are basically separate from adult education agencies. Cooperation between adult education and other educational institutions is considered to be an important goal yet to be achieved.
( Japan )

8. Adult agencies are mainly classified not by social groups, but by age and sex. ( Japan )

Adult education agencies are designed to serve all segments of the population including minorities, the disadvantaged, religious groups, and women. ( U.S.A. )

9. Competition among different agencies is small.
( Japan )

Competition among agencies is generally dependent on the market. ( U.S.A. )

10. Target population of different agencies are basically homogeneous in culture, language, religion, and race. The gap of economic status is also relatively small. ( Japan )

Adults enrolled in adult education vary from agency to agency. ( U.S.A. )

## IV. Conclusions

### 1. Sponsorship

Sponsorship of adult education between the public and private sector is varied in the United States, but overwhelmingly public sector oriented in Japan. The public sector plays an important role in both countries, however, influence of the private sector is also considerable in the United States.

### 2. Leadership and Financial Support

Private agencies are independent in all aspects in the United States, but they are very much dependent on governmental leadership and financial support in Japan. Roles of government in adult education is much greater in Japan than in the United States.

### 3. Responsiveness to Changes

In both countries adult education agencies are responsive to changes of the society.

### 4. Programs and Other Activities

Activities are varied according to different agencies in the United States, but they are relatively similar in Japan due to the strong influence of nationally established public policy.

### 5. Volunteerism

The idea of volunteerism is considered important in both countries, but actually only a little role is played by volunteers in Japan presently, whereas their activities are considered invaluable in the United States.

### 6. Cooperation

There is no common policy or arrangement of cooperation among agencies in the United states, but in Japan they are in the process of forming a nationally organized channel which is called the Lifelong Education Promoting Conference.

### 7. Involvement of Other Educational Institutions

There is a significant amount of involvement in adult educational programs in the United States by schools and colleges, however, to date, very little involvement by these educational institutions in adult education programs can be seen in Japan.

### 8. Classification of Agencies

Adult education agencies are diversified and classified according to different segments of population in the United States, but there is a little variety in Japanese adult education agencies. Socio-cultural, religious, and economic factors play much

greater roles in determining the characteristics of agencies in the United States, but in Japan adult education agencies are classified mainly by age and sex of participating learners.

9. Competition

Competition among different agencies in the United States is basically market oriented, but in Japan very little competition can be observed due to the overwhelming domination of public sector adult education.

10. Nature of Adult Education Students

Adult students vary from agency to agency in the United States, but in Japan they are basically homogenious in culture, religion, language, and race. Differences of social strata according to economic status are also much smaller in Japan than in the United States.

# ANDRAGOGY AND CHINA:

# CROSS-CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

by

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# ANDRAGOGY AND CHINA: CROSS-CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

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> A philosophy of individualism runs through liberal adult education. It can be seen in such educational goals as personal development and the idea of developing 'autonomous man'. It is implicit in the vocabulary of 'educational rights' and in claims for 'equality of educational opportunity' (Lawson, 1985, p. 219).

## Individualism and identity

Individualism is a concept with important historical significance that reflects changes in cultural values as well as common usage and understanding (Lukes, 1973). In modern times, as in times past, it refers to the changing role of the individual within society and the relationship between the individual and society. In contemporary Western societies, individualism is closely linked to the idea of personal identity and involves views about one's uniqueness and autonomy. Taylor (1985) explains the concept of identity as the manner in which people define themselves:

> To define my identity is to define what I must be in contact with in order to function fully as a human agent, and specifically to be able to ... discriminate ... what is really of worth or importance both in general and for me. To say that something is part of my identity is to say that without it I should be at a loss in making those discriminations which are characteristically human (p. 258).

Taylor uses the concept of "horizon" to further elaborate the notion of identity. He suggests that each person has a central understanding of the world that is so integral with the person as to be hardly acknowledged as meaningful or distinct from the person. It forms a ground upon which all else is viewed and understood but which itself goes unseen. Although this horizon goes unseen, it defines who we are and how we relate to the rest of our world.



Dawson (1989) takes it one step further by noting that identity,

> "involves biographical facts, of course, but more elusively it involves the manner in which the facts are interpreted and valued, the manner in which they matter... Identity is therefore something more than personal characteristics and circumstances; inseparable from these are background evaluations by which they gain significance. The horizon of identity shapes the way in which certain actions are deemed worthy or unworthy, certain qualities are valued above others (p. 54-55).

Thus, the biographical facts of one's life are judged as significant or not based on one's horizon of identity. Taylor suggests two such dominant perspectives which characterize the historical shift from pre-modern to modern views of the individual. For Taylor, there was a transition during the seventeenth century in which the horizon of identity moved from outside the individual to inside. Dawson nicely clarifies the difference in perspectives. If one's identity was primarily from outside the person,

> the question "Who am I?" would be answered in terms of my roles, relationships, beliefs, and affiliations. I am an artisan, for example, of this lineage, of that faith. My identity would be derived largely from these conditions of my existence. I would gain fulfillment in my identity by performing well in my proper duties, by taking my proper place within the household or community. Generally speaking, knowing my identity would be a matter of fitting into an ordained pattern with cosmological, societal and ancestral dimensions. This pattern would define my world; without it, I would have no place, no meaningful existence, no identity. ... The horizon of identity in this depiction is an outer, relational horizon because it is inclusive of the community and traditions which are not mine by choice but by ascription (p. 58-9).

She goes on to illustrate an internal horizon of identity and a typical construction of "self":

> I have an occupation, a family, and possibly a faith, as before, and these figure in my identity, but there is an essential difference. Social roles and relationships give shape to my identity, but don't constitute it. They are, or ought to be, subordinate and derivative, subject to personal choice. The question "who am I?" is a matter for private reflection, answered by separating myself from outside influences, and realizing what is unique about me in terms of emotions, aptitudes, creative potential. To fulfill my identity requires freeing myself from imposed expectations, and establishing myself as a person capable of autonomous and independent thought and action (p. 60).

These two horizons of identity not only define an historical change in Western conceptions of individualism, they also represent a significant difference between contemporary Western and Chinese conceptions of "self".

Chinese Conceptions of "Self"

> The individual is an element of the collective. When collective interests are increased, personal interests will subsequently be improved (Mao, 1969, p. 141).

Conspicuously absent from the Chinese conception of "man" is any idea of individualism in the modern Western sense; nor is there any positive valuation of the virtues of individuality. While traditional Chinese philosophies did have definite ideas about individuality, in terms of rights, duties, and freedom, they were subordinate to ideas of ethical conduct and public benefit.

In the Confucian view, a person is born into society and depends on affiliation with a number of groups for survival and prosperity. Private interests as well as personal identity belong not to the individual but to the group -- family, work unit, and community. Selfish behaviour is viewed as reflecting a failure to perceive oneself in terms of these more comprehensive and legitimate entities. Thus, one's identity and interests are intimately connected to and inseparable from family, work unit, ancestry, and society. Indeed, it is argued that individual interests are so intimately linked to the collective welfare that their exercise on an individual basis would be self-defeating. Consequently, individuals are expected to subordinate personal interests and rights to the welfare of the collective.



The early Confucian social order was also based upon a conception of human nature which had a strict hierarchical order of status and roles. In particular, three elements dominated the social order: First a collection of occupations, each with a detailed listing of what was to be done. Second, a clear delineation of the hierarchical relationship between these positions. Third, there was a formalized code of behaviour, which not only guided the behaviour of each person but tied the whole together.

Edwards describes this conformity and unity within contemporary China as an intricate web:

> "... most Chinese view society as an organic whole or seamless web. Strands in a web must all be of a certain length, diameter, and consistency, and must all be fitted together in accordance with a preordained pattern. Nonstandard strands, or randomly stitched threads, detract from the symmetry and strength of the web and diminish its capacity to perform its function. Likewise, in both Confucian ethic and current Communist morality, the individual should conform to a standard model of behavior, characterized by an overriding concern for the interests of society and readiness to perform the role assigned by the Party and responsible state organs." (p. 44)

All of this was in service of the ruling dogma -- harmony and stability -- and continues to be the dominant theme in china's political and economic policies. This is readily apparent in China's recent Constitutional history. Since 1908, and across four very different regimes -- the last imperial dynasty, the liberal republic, the authoritarian Guomindang government, and the socialist People's Republic -- Chinese constitutions have been remarkably consistent in their approach to human rights. All of the eleven or so drafts of constitutions have listed rights and freedoms which were set out as goals to be attained by the government and, consequently, granted to the people. For example, chapter two of the most recent constitution lists several, including freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, and demonstration. However, as with previous constitutional documents, there are three aspects of China's constitutional history that consistently, and rather frighteningly, explain recent events and clarify the relationship between individual and society (Edwards, Henkin, & Nathan, 1986).

First, none of the constitutional drafts since 1908 have presented human rights as inalienable. In China rights are derived from citizenship, not by virtue of birth, and are granted by the government. Thus, because all rights are derived from society, there can be no such thing as individuals claiming rights against society. Rights are presented as privileges which can be granted or withheld by the state, depending upon political or economic conditions. The basic rule is that the state can limit rights for any purpose as long as it does so by law.

Second, the primary goal of each constitution has been to strengthen the state and promote socialism. This is significant in that it clearly and unequivocally puts socialism and the collective before the individual. Human rights are not ultimate values or ends in and of themselves; they are simply instrumental and programmatic means to be used in pursuit of stability and harmony, but always within a socialist political system. Therefore, expressions of individuality, including human rights and democratic reform, are not only less important, they are obstacles to socialism and the welfare of the collective.

Third, in each of the constitutions, including the current document of 1982, the political body that drafted the constitution has the authority to decide when and if rights should be granted. Thus, should there be an appeal against the retraction of individual human rights, as in the case of several demonstrators recently given the death penalty, their only avenue of appeal is to the very body that found them guilty of counterrevolutionary activities. There is no system of checks or balances; nor is there an apolitical judiciary. In effect, the constitution is whatever the ruling political leaders say it is; rights and privileges are circumstantial and subject to whomever is in charge (Edwards, Henkin, & Nathan, 1986).

One result of this paternalistic approach to individual rights is a greater emphasis on duty. In Confucian terms, one must first perform one's duties, not claim one's rights. For it is in the performance of one's duty that a person becomes "fulfilled", in the Western sense of that word. In fact, rights are bestowed upon people by society in accordance with their fulfillment of societal duties. Rights, therefore, have a social rather than natural origin and the state has the right to dominate and control the civil society, i.e., the domain of private interests. Indeed, it is the responsibility of the state to suppress private interests.



These factors contribute to a horizon of identity that is external and based on people, policies, and traditions which are ascribed not chosen. Conceptions of identity are more social and historical than psychological and are related to affiliation and conformity more than personality and uniqueness. The Chinese "self" is a particular social construct, a part of an intricate composite which, like a hologram, is representative of the whole, even when removed from it.

Andragogy

Within most popular conceptions of andragogy are several assumptions about the nature of adults as learners, the goals of adult education, motives for learning, and the most appropriate type of teacher/learner relationship. Underlying each of these is the assumption that individual autonomy and the right to choose are central values to be protected and promoted. This philosophical position might reasonably be traced back to John Locke and his framework of "natural law". Lawson's interpretation is useful here:

> Locke's starting point is a *prima facie* case against absolute governments and he postulates a minimal role for the State or Commonwealth. For Locke, the State is an institution for the protection of individuals. It is not and does not have, in the Hegelian sense, an entity with a prior existence to which individuals owe an overriding obligation (p. 221).

What Lawson is pointing out is an historical tradition that assumes the existence of inalienable "rights", possessed by all individuals as a matter of birth, and which are antecedent to the establishment of any social organization. Thus, the furtherance of what is "good" is a personal rather than a collective concern. Within this philosophical tradition even the collective "good" might have to be compromised to protect and preserve the individual rights of autonomy and choice. "The common good cannot be allowed to become the prime concern from which policy is derived" (p. 224).

This is also fundamental to Kant's claim that morality, as the universal imperative, depends upon individuals being autonomous and capable of rational judgment. Lawson again; this time on Kant:

> Kant therefore postulates "selves" as centres of consciousness and reason, which are prior to and independent of any interests or attributes which we happen to have as a contingent fact. The individual is conceived as the irreducible "I", who chooses in a way analogous to Descartes' "self" which thinks and has experiences but which is not itself the object of an experience (p. 224).

Andragogy is buttressed by an assumption of natural rights and a focus on "self" as the centre of consciousness and reason. As such it is, fundamentally, an ideology of the individual, heavily reliant upon learning theory and a psychological conception of the "self". Its immediate parents are existentialism and Humanistic psychology. Its proclaimed goals are the democratization of education and the empowerment of the individual. Its methods of collaboration and choice are driven by an appreciation of individual differences. And, the horizon of identity is clearly from within as individuals seek to become independent, autonomous and self-reflective.

Thus, it is no accident that andragogy, as a set of beliefs and a way of practice, has taken root and flourished in the soil of Jeffersonian Democracy to become synonymous with adult education. The strident individualism of the United States, with its constitutional proclamation of individual rights, has indeed been fertile ground for such growth -- to the extent that American educators tend to interpret "empowerment" as an individual or psychological event (Shor and Freire, 1987, p 112).

Andragogy and China

The differences between Western and Chinese conceptions of self and individuality have important implications when considering cross-cultural exchanges. Until recently, China was vigorously engaged in academic and economic exchanges with Western nations in pursuit of economic reform. Much of the exchange was in the area of adult education and involved the transfer of Western, often andragogical, ways of thinking about learning and teaching. Yet, China's cultural heritage and political ideology are significantly different from the cultures that have embraced and elaborated andragogical beliefs and practices. Whereas a primary task of andragogy is to permit and promote the exercise of individuality and autonomous choice, the primary concern within China is to contain and discourage those same qualities.





Thus, an obvious question that arises from this comparison is whether or not andragogical beliefs and practices are suitable to adult education in China. Most anyone that has taught in China will have experienced situations that raise this question. For example, attempting to get "students" to express their opinions and feelings, choose among learning assignments, participate in self-evaluation, or challenge the stated position of those in authority, e.g., the instructor's opinion. Most Chinese students are reluctant to do these things, and for good reason. Their opinions and feelings are not important in other realms; why should they be here? They work primarily toward external exams and to standards that are set by others, so why should they engage in self-evaluation? And the opinion of an instructor may be in error, but it is not the place of a student to say that in public. These are self-evident to anyone who has worked in China. But what lies beneath these patterns is far more than simple reticence or not wanting to loose face. These behaviours are deeply rooted in a culture that is profoundly different than those cultures that expect students to be outspoken and self-evaluative.

For the same reason most Chinese students attending university in Europe and North America tend to excel in the physical sciences and math but not in the political and social sciences. While this is highly dependent upon language it is also related to their cultural heritage and political ideology. Confucius claimed, about himself, that he "only recorded and made no new writing of his own; that he had faith [in the past] and took pleasure in ancient things" (Zhang, 1988, p. 89). In today's terms, Chinese students seem to excel at learning knowledge and skills that complement what they already know, and at fine-tuning what they already know or can do. Math, physics, chemistry, computer programming, technical aspects of musician-ship, are all forms of either additive learning or fine-tuning. Such knowledge and skill bases are an extension of Confucious' statement. Yet, when asked to critically examine their beliefs, or anything they take for granted, Chinese students have a great deal more difficulty. This form of learning is not within their cultural heritage and may, at the moment, even be life-threatening. Thus, the essence of andragogy, which is to assume an internal horizon of critical reflection and personal autonomy may simply be culturally and ideologically "foreign".

Finally, we should remember that andragogy is more than a description of adult learners and collaborative methods. It is as much political as it is educational; there are significant philosophical and ideological differences between China and the West which must be considered when exporting (or importing) educational practices and materials. To loose sight of this is to not only misunderstand andragogy but to misread cultural differences. This can be no more poignant than now, when China is in turmoil and its people in jeopardy for the very kind of thinking that is promoted through andragogical means.

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# Participatory Research: Are Adult Education Graduate Programs Ready for It?

by


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# Participatory Research: Are Adult Education Graduate Programs Ready for It?

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I have used a question as the title of this paper. I am sure that you realize that there is no quick answer to this question. I am prepared to suggest, however, that participatory research is no longer an uninvited stranger inside the halls of academe, and although it is not a popular paradigm for dissertation research, it, nevertheless, has reached that lofty summit in a case or two. I would say that socially-conscious academics are testing the waters, they are experimenting to see how this thoroughly democratic research idea can be employed within the framework of traditional higher education. For the most part, this is a problem admitting of no clear or satisfactory solution at this time but looking for one. Therefore, our discussion of this topic today is very timely.

In this paper, I will present a slight historical overview of the development of participatory research, and discuss a few related terms, setting forth the basic philosophy and methodology, showing how it compares and contrasts with traditional social science research. I will give evidence of how the trend is developing in academe and discuss, in some detail, one case in which participatory research was the model for a successful dissertation. Finally, I will discuss the problems and challenges related to the employment of participatory research in graduate programs and suggest some recommendations for implementation.



The origin of the term "participatory research" is attributed to Marja Liisa Swantz and Kemal Mustapha, who were carrying out an experimental project in Tanzania in the early seventies. It is possible they were influenced by the work of Paulo Freire who had been in Tanzania at that time. They, in turn, influenced Budd Hall and Yusuf Kassam who were instrumental in developing and advancing the idea through their work and their publications which stood almost alone in the field for several years. Today the list of authors and publications concerning participatory research is long and growing.

With its origin in Africa, participatory research has had its greatest impact in India and Southeast Asia where Rajesh Tandon has been the moving force. He has also been very effective in his his capacity as international coordinator of the Participatory Research Network which was established by the International Council for Adult Education in 1977. Originally conceived as a preferred development tool for Third World countries, participatory research today is employed to some extent in every region of the world, even in industrialized countries which we all know have their own development problems.

Participatory research can be described as a combination of education, research and action so intertwined that none of these facets can be separated from each other or approached serially. It is group-oriented--a collective process, and its purpose is empowerment of people to understand the forces that oppress them--the structural causes of problems, to reflect on their situation as a whole and take action in line with their own priorities. In

the process of this education, research and action, they are preparing themselves for their further development.

Related terms are "popular education," "participatory evaluation," "participant observation," and "action research." The phrase "popular education" is a very important concept, implying relevant, usually nonformal self-education for all the people, but it is used so variously that I will not try to define it. Let me just say that while it shares much with "participatory research," it does not necessarily put emphasis on the research aspect. To me this is an important distinction if we are serious about the value of people creating knowledge as apposed to the idea that all knowledge originates in the ivory tower.

"Participant observation" and "action research" relate more to the activities of the researcher, rather than to the empowerment of the people. "Participant evaluation" is an extension of the idea of participatory research. When projects are planned by donor organizations or governments, even with the consent of the people, evaluations can be very arbitrary. Planners always want to know exactly what was accomplished, and some numbers on paper, etc., seem very important to them. While it is understandable that donors should want to hold projects accountable, the question comes as to who should make the assessment. Participatory evaluation asks who can evaluate the effects of a project on the development of persons as well as the persons themselves. Also who has a better right? Personal and group self-assessment of growth is so much a part of the education and development process, it is hard to believe that it





has been so much overlooked in all our educational situations and institutions, including development education.

It is very difficult to describe the methodology of participatory research for the very fact that if it is a process planned by a special group in a particular place and time, it will, in fact, be unique and certainly not replicable. Nevertheless, there are certainly guiding principles. The first question that presents itself concerns the role of the researcher or the outside expert or facilitator, and that brings up the question of who initiates a project. Ideally, the group is the initiator, but in practice, outside impetus is often needed to get the group started. To do this, a researcher needs to become extremely familiar with the people concerned and their situation. This is a very important part of the process, for the very presence of this person--being close to the people and learning their ways--serves as a catalyst to help them see their own condition. The researcher can provide information about techniques for group organization, information about the problems discussed and information about where to find assistance, etc. The researcher cannot chose the problem, cannot chose the method of inquiry and cannot prescribe action. Further, none of this can be predetermined. It has to grow organically, functionally out of the group itself, and therefore, the project does not belong to the researcher. The role of the researcher is not easy, for while he/she must be fully committed to the success of the group--never objectively neutral, that person or team of persons cannot be in a decision-making stance. I will have a bit

more to say about the role of the researcher in a later paragraph.

The next question which usually arises concerns the means of documentation of the knowledge gained so that it can be disseminated. Who will write it up and where will it be published? Who will read it? If we stop to think for a moment, we will realize that although any of the above-mentioned documentation activities could be included in participatory research and often are, still they are not necessarily relevant. Information has been passed down through the oral tradition for ages. Persons who could not read or write, developed powerful memories and passed knowledge on from one generation to the next. Actually, there are a number of ways that knowledge gained through participatory research is shared. For instance, a common method is through popular theater which is a traditional aspect of many cultures. However, we must not imagine that even remote societies today do not have access to newsprint, cameras, some kinds of duplicating machines and more. And word of mouth communication is not a bad means of documenting knowledge. It certainly beats a nicely published report sitting on a shelf gathering dust. Implied in this discussion of knowledge generation and documentation, of course, is the idea that it is important for people to create knowledge relevant to their well-being.

One way to understand participatory research is to contrast it to traditional social science research. In the first instance, it needs to be made clear that participatory research must be seen as an additional tool for social science research,



and certainly not a replacement for the latter. It serves the field well when the object of research is the solution of problems shared by a group of persons who have or can develop a relationship of communication and trust in a political climate that allows for authentic human growth and development.

Taking a look at the paradigm of traditional social science research, whether carried out by a professor or a graduate student, we all know that there are very specific methodological requirements. One chooses a subject, reviews the literature, develops an hypothesis to which he/she takes an absolutely neutral stance, plans an information-gathering tool which must be pretested in order to ascertain validity, reliability and replicability, gathers the information from the persons who are most often objects of research, analyzes the data, makes recommendations and publishes. Aside from the satisfaction of having perhaps added to "the store of knowledge," as we say, the researcher is rewarded with a graduate degree or other professional kudos. In the best of situations, such research may have a positive influence on the future prospects of the people studied. Too often, the only result for the people is an increased sense of dependence and or frustration. This is true to such an extent that, more and more, Third World countries are disallowing any research projects that do not have the approval of the government. Most recently, I read that the aboriginal Australians have created rules to control the intrusion of unwanted academic and professional researchers. (Dube, 1989, p. 156)

No one would argue that there is no longer any valid place for traditional research. However, Participatory research argues that when the need for the knowledge is the improvement of the quality of life for an identifiable group of persons, then those persons must be the subjects of their own research, educating themselves about the causes of their own situation, setting priorities for action in the light of their own value system, thereby serving as a model and setting the stage for continued self-development for themselves and friends and neighbors in the region. Participatory research is not a miracle panacea, it tales time and patience and hardly ever accomplishes as much as one might wish. On the other hand, it breaks the cycle of dependency and sets participants on a path of hope.

Let me mention two examples of participatory research that are quite different, but demonstrate the contrast with traditional research. In one case in an urban area in India, women were feeling oppressed trying to carry on the traditional life style, meeting religious requirements and also working outside the home. Popular theatre was a common entertainment vehicle but it was mostly carried on by men. With the help of an outside expert, a small group of local women learned acting skills. Then they met with women in an area and experienced with them many phases of their daily lives. Following this, they created a theater production which was attended by both women and men. Immediately following the production, they engaged the audience in a discussion, trying to gage whether the spectators felt their message spoke to the reality of the situation. Next they took suggestions from the group and reworked their



production and held another discussion session, continuing this process until all had reflected on it sufficiently to be satisfied with the message presented. Then they talked with all the people and looked for suggestions to solve the problems. They repeated the same production and discussion sessions, out of which grew some solutions, such as loosening some of the religious requirements which they had followed in blind faith as had their parents before them, altering the roles of boys and men so that work in the household was acceptable, and most of all the development of a new belief in themselves that they could solve some of the problems of their lives.

If a traditional researcher had tried to handle this situation, it is hardly likely to have been so effective. None of the steps mentioned in relation to traditional research apply. Yet the women carried out a research project which produced information important to them for solving problems of their daily lives. In the process they educated themselves and members of their community and documented knowledge which they could share with other communities. Women would probably not have been ready to be interviewed about their problems by an outside expert. In any case, they perhaps could not have articulated their concerns fully without the group process. Men in the communities would not have been willing to listen to the recommendations of outsiders, and the people would have been left in a dependency syndrome.

The case that is really most pertinent to our topic today concerns a doctoral dissertation, carried out by a student at the

University of Massachusetts, Patricia Maguire, who has published a very interesting account of her process related to university support for her dissertation and the difficulties she encountered over the course of a couple years' involvement in a participatory research effort. Her book is entitled, Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach," (Maguire, 1987)

The University of Massachusetts has been a leader in development education through its Center for International Education. Dr. Peter Park there has been a leading advocate for participatory research. Maguire says, "The Center has struggled with the contradictions of creating and maintaining a non-traditional, non-hierarchic participatory and democratic learning community in the midst of a primarily traditional, hierarchical university." (Maguire, 1987, p. 136) It is thanks to the kind of support Maguire received from the Center that that she was able to base her research on a participatory model there; we can imagine how impossible it may be in more traditional settings.

I am fascinated by Maguire's book and could easily have devoted this paper to nothing but it. However, I can only commend it to you and distill for you here some information about her research project itself in which she worked with a multicultural group of former battered women in Gallup, New Mexico. Particularly instructive is her open and honest reporting of the development and the successful completion of her project, as well as her insightful theoretical analysis. In her attempt to be true to the most basic principles of participatory research, she allowed herself no shortcuts. Let me describe her project briefly.



While Maguire was casting about for a location, her husband was invited to work at the Gallup Indian Medical Center in New Mexico. Accepting the challenge to make that her project site, she had everything to do--to learn about Gallup, the people there--especially the Native Americans, how to find a group to work with, etc. Without trying to recount her months of exploratory investigation, let me say that she finally saw a notice on a bulletin board asking for volunteers for the Battered Family Services, and she signed on. Her duties were to meet battered women any time of day or night when they needed escape. She had found a niche where she was needed and developed a relationship of trust over a period of time. It became obvious to her that women who had been helped by the Center and released still had many problems to face, economically in trying to support themselves and their families as single women having left untenable marriage situations, and psychologically in dealing with their personal insecurity and low self-concept.

She saw in the condition of these women the need for a self-help and support group. Her efforts to start such a group ran up against a certain amount of personal politics at the Center, and any number of other problems including the fact that she had no funding for this operation. By interviewing 19 of 43 former clients who agreed to see her, she was able to form a group of approximately ten women who met bi-weekly in each others' homes. They organized child care, and she provided the transportation.

In the initial interview, Maguire had discussed with the

women the nature of a participatory research project, explaining to them that in this case their findings would be significant to the work of the Battered Family Services Center which had never done follow-up research on their client population, as well as to themselves in their search for a new life.

There is no way here to describe the trials and tribulations, the joys and successes of the group meetings, or even to sufficiently explain the accomplishments of the group. Neither have I elucidated the feminist analysis of participatory research which Maguire has provided for us. My purpose here was to show that participatory research can be used for successful dissertation research. Maguire's book is proof of that.

However, there is one very important point that cries out to be made. Participatory research is a difficult paradigm for dissertation research. It requires a kind of commitment beyond that required to perform a pro forma dissertation requirement. As Maguire says, "Participatory research forces us as researchers to question our roles in that social world...Throughout the process I questioned myself relentlessly: 'How am I choosing to live my life? How am I choosing to be in the world? Whose side am I on?' I was often disappointed with my answers." (Maguire, 1987, p. 9)

The trend toward the introduction of participatory research in academe can be documented through a good number of publications now, and I want to mention three in addition to the Maguire work. First let me cite Adult Education and the Challenge of the 1990's, composed of papers delivered at the adult education conference in Belgium in 1985, and edited by



Leirman and Kulich. While there is not a specific chapter dedicated to the topic of participatory research, the whole thrust of the work speaks to a new recognition of the responsibility of adult education in the fast pace of change we are witnessing. In the first chapter, Walter Leirman quotes T. Ten Have (Leirman, p.5) to provide an interesting definition of adult education. "Adult Education is a process in the person by which he or she arrives at a better understanding of oneself and the actual situation, at a critical evolution of both and at a conscious and direct handling of the possibilities offered by the social situation." I am not suggesting that this definition is radically new to our thinking, but I do feel that the idea of a critical evolution of one's development and the social situation does speak to a more progressive concern than is commonly found in some adult education practice. For me it sets the scene for consideration of participatory research in our graduate programs and for the necessary changes in our mission and curriculum to accommodate it.

In his chapter in the Leirman and Kulich book, Ettore Gelpi speaks to the necessity for change in higher education to meet the new needs of a new day. He says, "Formal education has the possibility of continuing without mutation, but only at the cost of progressive marginalization." (p. 42)

In so far as we are primarily concerned here with the subject of research, we find that emphasis is gradually slipping from the earlier very strong status of positivistic and quantitative methods. Qualitative research methods are

acceptable now. We often hear Sharon Merriam, one of our very special leaders in the United States, acknowledging this point. Maguire speaks very strongly against the quantitative bias in her book. She say, "As a consequence of the fixation on quantitative data, important social phenomena are not investigated if they cannot easily be reduced to measurable variables and sometimes complex, social phenomena are reduced to nearly meaningless, 'statisticalized' component parts." (Maguire, p. 27)

We have spoken of the new sophistication in Third World countries where people refuse to be objects of research. They know that knowledge is power and they are ready to create their own knowledge. However, in addition to all that, we see today the outpouring of cries for freedom and democracy and human rights. Let us not sit in our offices or at our computers believe that this sentiment does not concern us. We, as professionals, will only be relevant if we also find ways to advance the groundswell. Maguire says, "The collective processes of participatory research help rebuild people's capacity to be creative actors on the world." (p. 37)

Let me mention two more recent publications that speak to our subject. Above, I have quoted from an article by Chris Duke, which appeared in the March 1989 issue of the German publication Adult Education and Development. I commend it to you. And lastly, a small publication published by the Universidad Autonomia Metropolitana in Mexico by Sylvia van Dijk, Recommendations on Strategies for Development Education and Research (1987) contains very helpful information.

Organizing participatory research into adult education graduate programs will not be easy. It will take a lot of doing. It will require a new kind of commitment which goes to the very heart of our personal philosophy, as Maguire said. If we are serious about implementing participatory research, it will mean that our value system may be out of sync with others in our departments or universities, maybe even with funding agencies. Additionally participatory research requires not only a philosophical commitment, but a commitment of time and energy. And there are many ambiguities in participatory research. Can we accommodate them for the sake of the purpose to be served? Maguire quotes Rajesh Tandon, "Participatory research principles are not purist. You can't sit and wait for the ideal situation. Waiting to do it right is paralyzing." (p. 157)

Now then we must ask the question again. Are graduate programs ready for participatory research? We have documented a case of participatory research for dissertation credit at the University of Massachusetts, and there are no doubt others in the United States. There are universities in other countries which favor participatory research, for instance in the Netherlands, in Italy and Mexico. However, dissertation research is only one aspect of the development of participatory research in graduate education. Coursework to inform students about research alternatives now include information on participatory research. Universities are sponsoring conferences and workshops on this theme. A timely mention could be made of the participatory research conference being held at the University of Calgary a couple week from now.

After all, dissertation research is only one facet of the research enterprise. Other uses for participatory research projects include field work that is necessary to train prospective adult educators to be sensitive to the cultural, political, and economic needs and interests of persons in a whole variety of situations. To carry out such projects, we must be very careful never to make persons objects of study in the research enterprise. Therefore, it is incumbent on a professor to maintain over time an authentic caring relationship with a community group and to train students in such a way that they do not go to a group as caseworkers who believe they know best how to solve people's problems for them. Instead they must go with a sincere respect for persons and with an interest to develop friendships that will be rewarding to themselves and the community members.

Participatory research will never fit the bill for a pro forma research project for graduate dissertation credit. It will work well, however, in those situations where there is sufficient flexibility to allow students to abrogate the traditional research code. In so far as adult education, in addition to being an academic field, is also a social movement, participatory research is a very democratic adult education tool for the empowerment of people so that they may become master's of their own fate.



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# A Comparative Analysis of Recent North American Research on Women and Minorities

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## Recent Discourse on Research on Women and Minorities

Feminist and minority scholars have recently challenged the traditional research enterprise both in terms of the quantity of research conducted with a focus on women and minorities and the epistemological frameworks informing the choice of research questions and methods. Conceptions of knowledge and science influence what research is done, who takes part in it, how it is conducted and how it is interpreted. Callaway (1981) claims that re-vision research began as women "started to question concepts and theories at variance with their own experience " (p.36). Questioning also the postivistic preference for "hard" data, many feminists researchers have joined critical theorists in a move toward "new paradigm" research. A realization that even the most "objective" scientific research is not value-free (Du Bois, 1983) has contributed to a greater acceptance of phenenological research, which admits to the subjectivity of experience Admitting that the research question and the stage of development of knowledge in a given area should influence the choice of methodology, Dubois maintains that the formative stages of feminist social science require careful attention to generation of concepts and selection of methods that allow researchers to see things as they are: whole, entire and complex. She argues that knowledge cannot be separated from the knower. Warren (1987) maintains that this more subjective stance toward knowledge and reality need not be equated with relativism.

Stanfield (1985) examines the ethnocentric basis of social science knowledge production He maintains that whether one speaks of ethnography, experimental research or survey methods, any research tool is still a human construct legitmated through the human community. Ethnocentrism, the group-centeredness of human populations, thus can influence research as it does other societal endeavors. Stanfield remarks :

> Since the social sciences as formalized and objectified knowledge systems reflect and reproduce Euro-American hegemony, the observation that cultural relativity has tended to be ignored or distored in social analysis is not the least bit surprising. Distortions or racial minority experiences divergent from those of Euro-American is taken for granted in social science methodologies as well as in modes of conceptualization. (p. 390)

According to Stanfield, it is such ethnocentrism that has led to researchers to either ignore minority experiences or to focus on the more problematic aspects of their lives. He calls for more study on the normal, routine lives of racial minorities, with a concern for theory generation rather than simply description. He also cites a critical need for researchers engaged in research on ethnically different populations to be sensitive to actual traits of the population under inquiry, including minority group members on research teams when possible. As is true of many feminist researchers, he sees the necessity of a paradigmatic revolution, going even beyond dialectic perspectives to a multilectic view of the complexities of a diverse world.

One might ask to what extent recent research in adult education currently reflects these concerns for research that reflects the experiences of women and minorities. Analysis of the amount of research on women and minorities is just a beginning. This research also needs to be examined to determine (a) whether the educational settings examined reflect the breadth of learning experience, (b) whether a variety of methodologies is employed to permit both theory generation and refinement, (c) whether new knowledge about learners is translated into further questions about instruction, program planning, and administration of programs for diverse clientele, (d) who conducts and reports research on women and minorities, and (e) what publication outlets facilitate sharing of research. This analysis is a beginning attempt at posing some of these questions

## Analysis of Research

To assess the current status of research on women and minorities in North American adult education a review of studies reported in several sources since 1984 was conducted. The primary source of citations for this effort was a computer search of publications listed with the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC). This included journal articles recorded with Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE) as well as conference proceedings, technical reports and other manuscripts available as ERIC microfiche. The ERIC indexing system includes numerous publications from Canada as well as the U.S. Additionally, proceedings for the last five years of the Adult Education Research Conference (AERC, held annually in the U. S. or





Canada) were reviewed to identify otherwise unreported research. Proceedings from the AERC conference are included in the ERIC system as a compilation rather than by individual author listings.

One hundred twelve citations in the ERIC search referred to adult education, continuing education, or adult students and utilized the term minority group or the title of one or more American minorities (Blacks, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans Native Americans and Canada Natives) as descriptors. Based on abstracts in ERIC, fifteen of these references were judged to be reports of research and were reviewed for this analysis. Research was defined to include reports of studies involving some form of data collection and/or analysis. Literature reviews were excluded. An additional five references meeting this criteria were identified independently of the ERIC computer search, primarily through AERC proceedings. Eighty-one citations in the ERIC search referred to adult education, continuing education, or adult students and used the term female as a major descriptor. Based on ERIC abstracts, 18 of these references were judged to report research on women in adult education and were included in the review. Again, evidence of data collection and/or analysis was the primary criteria for inclusion, with two pieces of analytical research included as well. In addition to the ERIC citations, 22 studies were located in AERC proceedings and other sources.

While the list of references identified in this fashion may not be exhaustive of all research reports on women and minorities in adult education during the last five years, a fairly comprehensive picture of current research is provided. Comparability of selection procedures for the two sets of studies also makes it possible compare the current status of research in these two areas as evidenced by published North American research.

Each reference selected for inclusion in the review was analyzed to record information regarding (a) year and source of publication; (b) gender of subjects; (c) age of subjects; (d) sample size; (e) educational setting; (f) data collection method(s); (g) data analysis methods; (h) instrumentation; (i) primary focus on learners, instruction, program planning, and administration; and (j) major findings. For the purposes of this paper, comparisons regarding year and source of

publication, educational setting, data collections and analysis methods, and primary foci will be discussed. A general overview of the research topics will also be shared.

The year of publication was recorded to examine for general trends over time during the last five years in the amont of work being published in these two areas. Figures are reported in Table 1 in absolute numbers to reveal chronological patterns of work on women and minorities

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See Table 1 in Appendix

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These figures suggest the amount of research being reported on women has increased in the last three years, with low 1989 figures representing the fact that the ERIC search only included publications appearing through the end of 1988. The amount of research being reported on minority populations has remained small and relatively constant. Evidence of a possible peak and decline should be interpreted cautiously given the low figures for all years examined.

The source of publication was identified, and categorized in one of the following ways: (a) journal in the field of adult and continuing education, (b) proceedings of conference in the field of adult and continuing education, (c) journal in another field of education or disciplinary interest area in education (e.g. sociology of education), (d) other journal, or (e) microfiche in ERIC system. The patterns of distribution for work on minorities and women are reported in Table 2 as percentage figures of the total number of sources reported in Table 1.

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See Table 2 in Appendix

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This analysis indicates that presentations at adult education research conferences (primarily AERC) represent the most prevalent source of publication for recent work on women in adult education with 45% of such research appearing in conference proceedings. The ERIC document reproduction service, adult education journals, and other education journals trail behind as a publication source on research on women. For work on minorities, adult education journals,





proceedings of the Adult Education Research Conference, and the ERIC document reproduction service are tied as sources of publication. While a larger number of studies are reported on women during this five year period, a greater proportion of the studies on minorities (42% vs. 30%) have been published in journals. Several interpretations are possible. Since much of the work on women in adult education has been reported at the AERC conference in the last two years, some manuscripts may be in varying stages of acceptance and publication with journals. Alternatively, these reports may either not be submitted to journals at the same rate or not be accepted at the same rate as those on minorities. Examination of author affiliations offers yet another possible explanation for the discrepancy in publication sources. Many of the authors publishing work on minorities identify affiliation with university departments or job roles other than adult and continuing education. Authors in other departments with interests in adult education may be aware of the major adult education journals; they may be unaware of or disinclined to participate in the Adult Education Research Conference. This conference is attended largely by North American professors of adult education and their graduate students.

The next category of analysis is that of educational setting for the research. In some cases, no setting could be assigned for analytical or historical studies. Table 3 indicates the patterns with regard to educational setting.

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See Table 3 in Appendix

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The majority of the research done on women in adult education in the last few years clearly focuses on women in the higher education environment. Next most prominent for research on women is work on adult development which cannot be classified by educational setting. An emerging body of work on women in the workplace is also represented. Women's education in the areas of professional continuing education, literacy and adult basic education, and in the community has received relatively little attention in the last few years according to this analysis. While research on women in higher education appears to have contributed to a sudden spurt of

interest in women as a focus for research, it seems essential that more attention be devoted to the study of women learning in other environments.

Among the studies on minorities in adult education, there is a greater dispersal of educational settings, with examinations of adult education in the community representing the largest segment. Also reported with relative frequency are studies of minority adults in higher education and adult basic education or literacy programs. The studies on minority adults which could not be classified for educational setting were primarily historical and biographical studies. Education of minority adults in professional continuing education and the workplace has received relatively little study over the last several years according to the research analyzed here.

Next, this analysis included a review of the methods used for data collection and analysis in recent research on women and minorities. Reported in Table 4 is the distribution by categories of data collection methods.

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See Table 4 in Appendix

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The most prevalent modes of data collection for research on women include use of a questionnaire, administration of one or more instrument, and open-ended interviews. These methods have been reported in nearly equivalent proportions. Including open-ended interviews, combined qualitative methods, and hermeneutic analysis, approximately 40% of the reported research on women employed methods associated with a naturalistic paradigm rather than a positivistic one. The greatest proportion of the reviewed research on minorities utilized methods associated with historical inquiry, although varying in the extent of utilization of primary source material. Similarly small proportions of the research utilized questionnaires, instrument administration and open-ended interviews (approximately 10% each). Data analysis methods were examined as well for balance between quantitative and qualitative methods and other striking characteristics of distribution of methods. Table 5 presents the results of that analysis.





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See Table 5 in Appendix

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A trend toward naturalistic methods of data analysis is evident in the research reviewed on women, with approximately 43% of the studies using qualitative analysis or qualitative analysis combined with quantitative and another 5% employing hermeneutical analysis. For studies of minorities, methods associated with historiography predominate, in association with the primary methods used for data collection. Approximately 25 % of these studies employed qualitative analysis or combined quantitative and qualitative analysis. Quantitative methods of analysis have in no way been replaced by other methods according to this review, with 40% of the studies on minorities and 53% of the studies on women utilized some form of quantitative analysis. Rather, a wide variety of data analysis methods seems to be viewed as acceptable.

A final comparison to be made here is in the patterns of content focus among recent studies of women and minorities. Studies were coded to indicate a strong emphasis in any of several areas: (a) characteristics of learners, (b) program planning, (c) program administration, (d) instruction, (e) social context of learning, and (f) adult education as a field or contributions to it. A single study could be coded in more than one category if a strong emphasis in two or more areas of emphasis was clearly evident in purpose statement, data collection, and discussion of implications. Table 6 shows the distribution of studies among the foci identified.

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See Table 6 in Appendix

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The studies on women in adult education which were reviewed show a clear concern with characteristics of women as learners. A sizeable minority of the studies also show attention to aspects of program planning for women students. Relatively little attention has been devoted in these studies to the social context of learning, instructional implications, women as leaders and other concerns in the field of adult education, and program administration. Among studies on

norities characteristics of learners similarly receive the greatest attention, with emphasis on the social context of learning in a strong second place. Largely through historical studies attention has also been devoted issues of minority leadership in the field. Relatively little attention has been paid to program planning and instruction, and none of the studies reviewed showed an emphasis on administrative issues relating to minorities. It is quite possible these topics are given considerable attention in other published materials, although not appearing in the research identified for review.

While the purpose of this analysis is not a literature review per se, it may be helpful to the reader to present an overview of the topics represented among the studies analyzed. I shall begin with the studies on minority adults. As noted, one of the largest group of studies focused on learners in higher education or preparing for it. Franklin (1985) evaluated selected Educational Opportunity Centers designed to prepare disadvantaged adults for higher education. Mc Gee (1984) took a historical look at the adult education contributions of George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee University. Black women in higher education were the focus of study for Meyer (1986) and Weis (1985). Finally, in one of the few studies examining instructional implications of learner characteristics Conti and Fellenz (1988) studied learning style among Native Americans and investigated the interactions between learning style and teaching style as covariants impacting student achievement.

All of the studies focusing on education in minority communities deal with Black learners. Spaights, Dixon and Bridges (1985) analyzed the role of Leon Howard Sullivan as a community leader and creator of adult education programs in the Philadelphia community. Historical inquiry was the primary mode of investigation used in other studies in this category, including studies of adult education in Black voluntary associations, civic associations and churches in Boston (De Vaughn, 1985), Buffalo, New York (Williams, 1985) and Roxbury, Massachusetts (Dickens, 1985).

Several studies of minority adults focused on literacy or adult basic education, including historical analyses of literacy instruction for slaves (Gainer, 1986; Rachal, 1986) and a more





contemporary look at motivations for participation of Hispanics and others in Texas adult basic education programs (Wallace, 1987). Studies related to employment of minority adults were conducted by Felmlee (1988) in her look at occupational attainments of Black and white women following reentry education, and Martin & O'Connell (1986) in their examination of rehabilitation needs of disabled Pueblo Indians. Stuhr (1987) did a retrospective analysis of factors affecting dropout in several different adult education programs he had worked with, and pointed to instructors' lack of understanding of Indian culture as a barrier for some students. Houston and Novick (1987) studied the predictability of Black student performance in military courses based on Army examinations. Minority women as adult leaders were the focus of research by Jensen (1985) and Chateaurvert (1988) on Fabiolo Cabeza de Baca and Anna Julia Cooper respectively.

It should be noted that of those 18 studies which clearly delineated the minority group or groups studies, two compared Blacks and whites, 11 focused on Blacks, three focused on Native Americans and two focused on Hispan\'c Americans. Of those 11 which clearly identified gender of participants, four included males and females, five focused on females,and two focused on males. The majority of the publications were authored by a single individual (15 or 19), with fairly equal representation of males (8) and females (7). Given the inappropriateness of making judgements about author-ethnicity based on name or nature of content, it is not possible to discuss the representation of ethnic groups among the authors.

I move next to an overview of the research on women in adult education. As noted, the majority of the research reviewed on women as adult students focused on women in higher education. One of the most frequently studied topics in this area recently area has been adult student motivations (Caracelli, 1986; Clayton & Smith, 1987; De Karabetian & Best, 1984; Hawk, 1988; Iovannich, Hall & Hengster, 1985; Sewall, 1984; Ross, 1988). Closely related are those studies which have examined developmental issues ( Muench, 1987; Richardson & Sands, 1984-85; Roehl & Okun, 1985; Ross, 1988), barriers to entry and success (Moore, 1985); and learning interests of women alumni (Dellman, Papalia, & Hennon, 1984). A number of researchers have

investigated characteristics which distinguish reentry women once enrolled, often comparing them to traditional-age students or male reentry students in learning style, self-esteem, adjustment, stress, and marital happiness (Diedrick, 1986; Jacobi, 1987; Marlow & Sallee; Starks, 1987; Suitor, 1987; and Zelacek, 1986). Pittman (1988) has described women who persisted in a non-degree continuing education program for women, while Brendan (1985) has compared persisting and non-persisting degree students. Adam and Lindoo (1989) took a different approach, looking not at the learner but at administrative policies regarding continuing education programs for women.

Among the published reports reviewed, the next largest segment of research focused on women in the workplace. Armstutz (1989) took a rare look at secretarial mentoring of bosses, while Mertz (1987) examined factors which lead to women not being mentored. Lillard and Tan (1986) examined factors supporting the likelihood of work-related training for men and women. Persico (1988) and Brook (1988) investigated factors influencing the success of training in nontraditional careers, while Butterwick (1988) looked at reproductive aspects of training women in the traditional occupation of clerical workers.

The remaining studies on women were scattered across a number of areas. Some studies focused on adult development of women without reference to a particular educational setting (Caffarella & Freeman, 1985; Kinelpp, 1985). Rockhill (1987) interviewed Hispanic women, examining the role of literacy as desired skill and social threat. Blais, Dauquette and Painchaud (In press) examined deterrents to participation in continuing professional education programs among nurses. Looking at women as learners outside formal educational environments were Cheng (1989) on women government leaders, Strycher (1987) on learning and health practices among pregnant women, and Hugo (1987) on a women's liberal education and civic learning in a longstanding women's club. In the hermeneutic tradition, Butterwick (1988) compared Freire's concept of conscientization to consciousness raising in women's groups, and Rannells (1988) compared women's education to adult education.





It is worthy of note that of the 40 studies focusing on specific women or groups of learners, 82.5% utilized samples for which ethnicity was either not mentioned or at least 80% of the sample was white. This does not suggest a strong emphasis on women of color in research on women in North America. More encouraging is the dominant voice of women as authors in these published reports; 50% were written by a single female, 11% by a team of females, and 21% by a team including at least one female.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on this analysis several areas of concern can be identified for consideration by those hoping to formulate an agenda for research on women and minorities in adult education. With regard to research on women, a number of findings might be stressed. As strong points, there is a positive trend toward an increasing volume of research on women in adult education, and naturalistic methods of data collection and analysis appear to be accepted as one approach approach in this inquiry. A significant body of work is available on women as reentry students in higher education. It is essential that the work which is reported through conferences be published in other more accessible forms, and it will take efforts of researchers and editorial boards to insure that this occurs. More significantly, several gaps in research on women need to be called to attention. Little work has been done on learners in literacy and basic education programs, although they outnumber men. We also know little about women as learners in their communities, reflecting our relative inattention to the life-world as a setting for adult learning. As women continue to involve themselves in professional careers, more work on facilitators and deterrents to their continuing professional education will also be essential. Finally, just as traditional adult education research has shown a bias toward middle-class white males, research on women has focused most often on white middle class women. Interactive effects of racism, sexism, and classism on women's learning accomplishments can best be investigated through inclusion of working class and non-white women in study samples.

Research on minority adults is strongest in the area of historical studies of Black adult education. The literature provides a rich contribution to a history of adult education that

currently fails to reflect many aspects of adult education in the Black community. Research in this area to the exclusion of others, however, limits our ability to draw conclusions about minority learners who are current or potential participants in adult education programs. It is essential that we have studies about not only Black adults but also Hispanic, Native American, and Asian American groups as well, and in a variety of educational settings. It was also be important to study the special educational needs of new immigrant populations from Third World environments. Increasing diversity of methodology, with greater reliance on open-ended interviews and observational studies, will be valuable. Collaboration between minority and non-minority scholars will be a beneficial mechanism for increasing the overall volume of research on racial and ethnic minorities.

Several issues seem important both for research on women and minorities. First is a methodological issue. Ethnographic studies of adult education environments are relatively absent among the qualitative studies, with a strong bias toward individual depth interviewing. Thus our ability to understand the learner from an interactionist perspective is limited. And while quantitative methods are by no means extinct, relatively few studies employ the level of multivariate analysis and discriminant analysis procedures needed to fully explore complex interactions of setting variables, instructor variables, and personal variables.

Next is a content issue. Although considerable work has been done on women and minorities as learners, fewer researchers have gone on to examine instruction, program planning, and administration of programs for women and minorities. Among questions in need of further exploration are:

1. What roles are played by supportive teachers or counselors in encouraging adult learning efforts?

2. Are there predominant learning styles among adults of various cultural backgrounds? If so, how can such information be incorporated into instructional planning?

3. How can minority adult be assisted in learning from instructors with non-compatible teaching styles?





4. How do learning outcomes differ for minority adults or women differ from those of white males when placed in competitive or cooperative learning environments?

5. What characteristics are observed in the program planning and implementation processes used by organizations which effectively serve minority adults?

6. What forms of outreach/marketing are most successful with specific minority clientele or in appealing to women's participation in nontraditional programs?

7. To what extent is lack of financial aid a barrier to participation for minority adults and women in various types of adult education programs?

8. What public and private sources of funding have been used to successfully augment student tuition for adult education programs?

9. What types of educational programs are most effective in changing awareness levels of adult education staff regarding the particular needs of and approaches useful with minority adults? and

10. How can adult education programs effectively provide human relations training for employers? worker? trainers?

In closing, an analysis of published North American research on women and minorities over the last five years reveals an expanding area of research, but also pinpoints areas of need for further research. In reflection of a growing discourse on existing research traditions in a number of disciplines, adult educators too need to think seriously about how their own biases have colored the nature of their research questions, selection of research methods, and interpretation of data. Following existing traditions has led in many cases to the neglect of research on women and minorities in adult education or biased the nature of projects conducted in these areas. Adult education scholars, regardless of gender and racial/ethnic backgrounds, would do well to consider diversifying the research traditions in adult and continuing education.

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# Appendix

Table 1

Year of Publication of Research

| Year | Women | Minorities |
|---|---|---|
| 1989 | 5 | 0 |
| 1988 | 10 | 3 |
| 1987 | 12 | 4 |
| 1986 | 6 | 5 |
| 1985 | 5 | 5 |
| 1984 | 4 | 2 |
| Total | 42 | 20 |

Table 2

Publication Sources

| Source | Percentage of Studies--Women | Percentage of Studies--Minorities |
|---|---|---|
| Adult Education Journal | 14.29 | 26.32 |
| Adult Education Conference | 45.24 | 26.32 |
| Other Education Journal | 14.29 | 15.79 |
| Other Journal | 4.76 | 5.26 |
| ERIC | 21.43 | 26.32 |





Table 3

Educational Setting of Research

| Settings | Percentage of Studies--Women | Percentages of Studies--Minorities |
|---|---|---|
| College/University | 57.14 | 21.05 |
| Community | 4.76 | 31.58 |
| Workplace/Training | 11.90 | 5.26 |
| Literacy/Adult Basic | 2.38 | 15.79 |
| Continuing Professional | 2.38 | 0.00 |
| Other | 7.14 | 10.33 |
| Multiple Settings | 0.00 | 5.26 |
| Not Applicable | 14.29 | 10.33 |

Table 4

Methods of Data Collection

| Methods | Percentage of Studies–Women | Percentage of Studies–Minorities |
|---|---|---|
| Questionnaire | 28.57 | 10.53 |
| Instruments (Tests, sccales) | 26.19 | 10.53 |
| Interview | 28.57 | 10.53 |
| Experimental/Quasi | 4.76 | 0.00 |
| Historical Inquiry | 4.76 | 42.10 |
| Document Analysis | 0.00 | 10.53 |
| Combined Quantitative | 0.00 | 5.26 |
| Combined Qualitative | 7.14 | 5.26 |
| Combined Quantitative/ Qualitative | 2.38 | 0.00 |
| Secondary Analysis | 2.38 | 5.26 |
| Hermeneutics | 4.76 | 0.00 |

Note. Column totals may exceed 100% since some studies were coded in more than one category.



Table 5

Methods of Data Analysis

| Methods | Percentage of Studies–Women | Percentage of Studies–Minorities |
|---|---|---|
| Qualitative | 35.71 | 10.53 |
| Frequency/Chi-Square | 16.66 | 10.53 |
| Correlational | 4.76 | 10.53 |
| Factor analysis | 2.38 | 0.00 |
| T-tests/Analysis of Variance | 9.52 | 5.26 |
| Combined Quantitative | 14.29 | 0.00 |
| Combined Quantitative/ Qualitative | 7.14 | 15.79 |
| Hermeneutical | 4.76 | 0.00 |
| Historiography | 4.76 | 42.10 |
| Biography | 0.00 | 5.26 |

Table 6

Focus (I) of Study

| Areas of Focus | Percentage of Studies–Women | Percentage of Studies– Minorities |
|---|---|---|
| Learner Characteristics | 71.42 | 42.10 |
| Program Planning | 19.04 | 10.53 |
| Program Administration | 2.38 | 0.00 |
| Instruction | 4.76 | 10.53 |
| Social Context | 11.90 | 31.58 |
| Adult Education field / Leadership | 7.14 | 15.79 |

Note: Column totals may exceed 100% since some studies were coded in more than one category.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION WORLDWIDE: SOCIO-POLITICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND PROGRAMMATIC CHARACTERISTICS

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# AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION WORLDWIDE: SOCIO-POLITICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND PROGRAMMATIC CHARACTERISTICS

William M. Rivera[1]


## Abstract

This paper confronts three constraints: (1) the breadth of the topic--"extension' is varied systems as well as a socio-technical function and as a function it operates in various sectors of society, not just agriculture; (2) the variety of national configurations of agricultural extension, i.e., the different ways in which agricultural extension is organized at national levels, and (3) the multiplicity of key internal and external factors affecting extension's operations.


## THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

First, extension may refer to more than agricultural extension. Indeed, it is a broad-based term which is used by various sectors--e.g. industrial, health, agriculture, education. As Mosher (1976) notes, the term originally derives from "university extension." The term therefore concerns numerous sectors of society and relates to overall--and not just any one particular sector of--development.

## EXTENSION AS PART OF OVERALL, AS WELL AS AGRICULTURAL, DEVELOPMENT

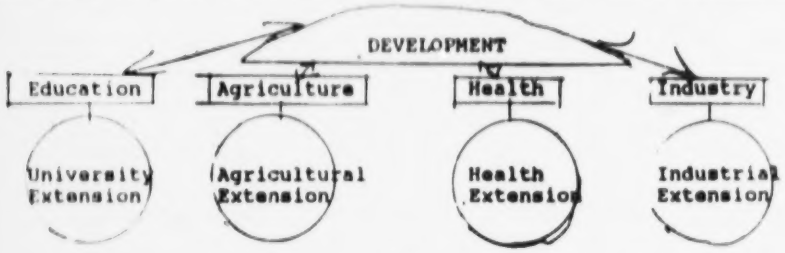


Figure 1

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As figure 1 points out, extension is a function relevant to sundry sectors and organizations of society. Indeed, in a discussion of the World Bank-sponosred Training and Visit (T&V) system, Israel (1983) underscores that the T&V management principles developed specifically for agricultural extension are applicable to other systems involved in the delivery of nonformal education.

Agricultural extension may be defined very broadly or quite narrowly which further renders its discussion complex. There are at least three ways to interpret the breadth of agricultural extension, viz.:

a) Strict interpretation of the function of extension as operating to disseminate information only for the purposes of improving production and profitability of farmers (Agricultural Performance).

b) Broad interpretation of the function of extension as serving to advance rural communities, but including agricultural development tasks (Rural Development).

c) Broadest interpretation of the function of extension as providing nonformal agriculturally related continuing adult education--for multiple audiences: farmers, spouses, youth, community, urban horticulturalists (Continuing Education and Community Development).

Thus, agricultural extension may play various roles, that of (i) transferring technology (hard and soft) to farm producers, (ii) catalyzing rural development in rural areas, and (iii) fostering continuing and lifelong education among both rural and urban populations. In some cases, as with the U.S. Land Grant/Cooperative Extension System, all three of the above programmatic orientations may be observed to operate within the scope of the organization. In third world developing countries, by contrast, most systems tend to be strictly geared to agricultural production services.

## DIFFERING NATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION

At least three different internal public organizational patterns of extension agencies have been identified in Africa and Asia. Blanckenberg classifies these as (a) "the sectoral governmental service" type, (b) the "subsectoral parastatal intervention society" type, and (c) the "unified service with mobilization of local resources" type.

The Sectoral Governmental Service--In brief, the first type (sectoral government service) is the most frequently encountered. Usually the Ministry of Agriculture assigns main responsibility to a Department of Agriculture (DOA) for agricultural development. The DOA has a number of divisions--those concerned with research, extension and training, as well as others responsible for technical, economic, and administrative matters. The Extension Division usually consists of a small number of officers in the head office but has a clear line of command from the national level via province, district and division down to the village level. The ministry of agriculture arrangement is generally one which

is highly centralized. The Director of the Department of Agriculture has a strong position with respect to staff management, programming and coordination of extension work.

The Subsecotoral Parastatal Intervention Service--The second main type of internal organization of agricultural extension services is based on parastatal intervention societies, dealing with a restricted range of agricultural activities. These are found especially in West Africa in countries formerly under French colonial rule; they usually deal with one crop, or a few important crops only (thus, the name "subsectoral"), or they are responsible for rural development in a specified region. They generally have a high degree of autonomy. The Ministry of Agriculture to which they are responsible, thus limits its own concerns to overall planning, coordination and regulatory work.

Unified Service with Mobilization of Local Resources--The third basic form of extension service cited by Blanckenberg has developed in two far-eastern countries: Korea and Taiwan. While the services in these two countries differ in some respects, they share certain characteristics, viz: (i) mobilization of resources at the local and regional level; (ii) strictly decentralized extension programming; and (iii) development work entrusted exclusively or almost exclusively to one service.

The above characteristics may be operative in other systems in other countries but it is a "pre-condition" for extension work in these Korea and Taiwan. Some consider these services to be unique models. In fact, Lionberger & Chang (1981) refer to the Taiwan system as an "alternative" to the U.S. model for third-world developing countries.

## MULTIPLICITY OF KEY INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS

The comparative study of agricultural extension systems is also complicated by the extent of the exogenous as well as internal factors that affect agricultural extension operations. Several exogenous factors impact on extension: the impact of donor organizations, national development policy considerations, the status of a country's knowledge and technology base, and also the attitude of targetted clientele. The internal factors affecting the success of extension systems include organizational structure, management including linkages with supportive agencies, and field methodology (i.e., type of system, e.g.: T&V, commodity-specific, animation rurale (community development), land grant university-type systems, participatory, general agricultural advisement, area development, cooperative (cost-sharing) and audio-visual communication orientation).

Key External Factors:

Donor Organizations--A major factor exogenous not only to the agricultural extension organization but to the country in which extension operates is the contemporary reality of donor organizations and their interest in the development of agricultural extension. The importance of international and bi-lateral donor organizations can be appreciated by noting the World Bank's investment in agricultural extension of $1.8 billion since the mid-1960s. The international donor contribution to the development of agricultural extension is considerable and their influence on third world developing countries is incontrovertible.

Policy Supports--Within country situations, it is obvious that agricultural extension systems require policy supports--explicit, or at least implicit, as well as basic and recurring resource allocating supports (Rivera & Schram, 1987, p. 270). It would be futile to discuss agricultural extension systems without considering the realm of politics and the context created by policy mandates which are the expression of politics.

The politics underlying agriculture and which affect extension are of at least two major kinds: (1) definition of the system mission as dictated by the political will of the country and (2) the accompanying relevant policy mandates which ultimately affect the carrying of that mission, i.e. price, credit, and supply policies) that are necessary to make extension effective. These political/policy determinations generally clarify whether agricultural extension systems will be strictly production oriented and whether this orientation will be toward cash and/or food crops or whether the system will also be concerned with rural development. Governmental policy determinations as to price, credit and supplies affect extension systems decisively. In fact, farmers often enough base their acceptance or rejection of extension recommendations on these "higher" decisions (Schuh, 1987).

Linkages--A major consideration for the development of a successful extension system is its knowledge base and, interdependently, its research/extension/farmer linkages. A number of linkages are required to develop and maintain an appropriate knowledge base, according to the the World Bank (Second Asian Regional Workshop, 1984). These are:

a. Policy action mandating structures and oversight of extension/research linkages

b. Institutional action establishing procedures for extension-/research collaboration in the joint identification and forumlation of extension messages

c. Field action by research/extension staff to identify farmers' priority production problems

d. On-farm action to generate improved technology based on farmers' needs, as well as to validate and adapt new technology from International Research Centers (IARC's)

Key Internal Factors:

Organization and Management--Organizational change and management design for uncertainty and innovation are increasingly considered as crucial interventions for development. One of the cases used by Hage and Finsterbusch (1987) to illustrate the intervention of a system bringing

significant structural changes to organization is T&V (p. 106-113). They claim that T&V exemplifies an intervention into organizations that were somewhat organic or undisciplined, changing them in the mechanical direction. In referring to it intervention in India, Hage and Finsterbusch state that, "T&V reoriented the extension service to become a model of a mechanical bureaucracy."

Middleton, Rondinelli, & Verspoor (1987) turn their attention to five fundamental components of management design: (a) the environment ("those factors outside of a given system to which the system seeks to adapt in order to achieve its goals and survive"); (b) tasks (the clusters of activities that must be carried out successfully to accomplish objectives); (c) management processes (the dynamic patterns of action which enable the organization to determine and achieve its objectives by carrying out tasks); (d) organizational structures (the predictable relationships among people and tasks, and between the organization and its environment); (e) staff capacity (the values and skills held by the members of an organization and which are critical to management effectiveness).

Beneficiaries--In the final analysis, however, after the organizational and management reform factors have been underscored, the institutional linkages discussed, the national commitment highlighted for its importance to policy planning and financial supports--there remains the farmers, the family unit, and their reality within the rural structure, all of which exists and acts in a cultural framework of ideological preferences, social values and behaviors and environmental resources. In this framework, often confronted are questions of 'peasant rationality' and farmer receptivity to innovation.

Farmer receptivity also depends on the preparation of the field agents and their ability to facilitate learning. Indeed, program delivery concerns management as well as field agents.

Recent lines of thinking about farmers recognizes their indigenous knowledge and the need for farmer participation in both research and planning. This is a particular characteristic of the farming systems research (FSR) (Galt & Mathema, 1987). Farrington & Martin (1987) review at length the concepts and practices current in farmers' indigenous technical knowledge (ITK) and farmers' direct participation in research (FPR). An emerging issue is the tension between management which tends to operate top-down and the socio-political effort to promote participation of farmers in setting the research agenda and the development of extension programs.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper briefly reviews agricultural extension worldwide from a comparative prespective. It confronts three constraints: (1) the breadth of the topic--"extension" is composed of varied systems at the same time that it is a socio-technical function, one that operates in various sectors of society, not just agriculture; (2) the variety of national configurations of agricultural extension, i.e., the different ways in which agricultural extension is organized at national levels, and (3) the multiplicity of key internal and external factors affecting extension's operations. The international and comparative study of agricultural extension provides intellectual insight for policymakers, administrators and educators and provides a basis for practical action.



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# A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ANDRAGOGY (ADULT EDUCATION) AS A FIELD OF ACADEMIC STUDY IN THE WORLD

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Study and Research in Comparative Adult Education
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Due to the population's age structure in many countries, adult education, as a field of social practice, is now seen as a priority.

In the so called developing countries, it is now understood that adult education is an essential component of development (UNESCO, 1985).

As illustrated again by two national inquiries (CEFA, 1982; Secrétariat d'Etat, 1984), participation in adult education is not a school phenomenon. Adult learning occurs mostly outside the schools and is in general voluntary.

> The term adult education embraces all kinds of education and training for adults -- in any setting, at all level, formal and non-formal, vocational and non-vocational -- whether aimed at imparting information, knowledge and skills, or at creating new attitudes and values (UNESCO, 1982, 263).

The recognition by universities of adult education as a field of academic study was preceded:

1) by the creation of associations of adult education;
2) by the constitution of consultative bodies;
3) by the establishment of governmental administration divisions;

and is consecrated:

4) by the creation of professional associations of adult educators;
5) by the creation of scientific associations of research workers;
6) and by the publication of research journals.

In many instances, universities begin to offer a single course in the new field of study. The academic recognition occurs with the creation of a specific degree and is consecrated with the establishment of an independent academic unit.

The evolution of the new field of study is represented by the number of universities from every area of the world who offer a degree in the field and by a certain consensus on the specific contents of the courses and the domains of research.

It is only at that point that the new field of study acquires the political caracteristic of a self-sustaining field of study although maintaining links with the other fields of study.

The evolution of an academic field of study is essentially political. The factors influencing the evolution are present in society, in universities, in the academic world and are represented inside every specific field of study.

It is in that political context that we have tried to understand the situation of andragogy (adult education) as a field of academic study.

To this end, we have comparatively analysed the data published in different UNESCO's reports.[1]

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1 Touchette (1987).





The data published without analysis in these directories were collected by questionnaires. Although this characteristic is essential for comparative study, however we are bound by dimensions covered by the questionnaire, by the institutions answering and by the quality of the answers.

It is evident (UNESCO, 1984, 1985: Le développement; UNESCO, 1985: Rapport final) that in most countries phases 1, 2 and 3 are realized (Touchette, 1987: 6-11).[1]

It is also evident that andragogy (adult education) constitutes a recent and growing field of academic study (UNESCO, 1982). Although before 1950 few universities had recognized that field, the majority of universities, from all areas of the world, offering degrees in this field did so after 1969 (47 universities on 89).[2]

Since 1982, the growth is exponential. For example, for the United States in 1982, we had 22 universities (UNESCO, 1982). A comprehensive survey in 1987 shows that 83 universities in 42 states were now offering degrees in adult education.[3]

In 1982, more than 60 % of 95 universities had only graduate degrees in that field. Only 6 had a bachelor degree but 50 had an undergraduate certificate. The doctoral degree was offered by 27 universities.[4]

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1 Creation of associations of adult education, constitution of consultative bodies, establishment of governmental administrative divisions.

2 Cf Table 1, Annex 1; Annex 2; Touchette (1987): 12-21.

3 Cf Annex 3; Touchette (1987): 99-103.

4 UNESCO (1982); cf. Table 2; Touchette (1987): 25-30.

In 1987, in the United States all the 83 universities had graduate degrees. Two had a graduate certificate, 29 had a M.Ed., 25 had a M.A., 39 had a MSc., 41 were offering the Ed.D., 3 had a Ed.D.S. and 30 were offering the Ph.D.[1]

Yes, andragogy (adult education) is a new recent and growing field of academic study concentrated mostly at the graduate level.

A consensus exists for registration requirements for which prior-experience in the social field of practice of adult education is pre-required.[2]

Is it possible to trace the boundaries of the contents of this field of academic study? To do so we have analysed the titles of 654 courses offered in 1982 by 81 universities: 11 from the United Kingdom, 19 from the United States, 19 from Europe, 9 from Canada, and 23 from the rest of the world (UNESCO, 1982).

By content's analysis these 654 titles were reduced to 50 items representing a specific content.[3]

A first group of 8 specific contents constitutes a certain consensus. They are present in the programs of at least 35 % of all the 81 universities and also in the programs of 20 % or more of the universities of each of the areas.

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1 Touchette (1987): 90-103.

2 UNESCO (1982).

3 Cf Annex 4, Touchette (1987): 32-49; 117-120.





These specific contents are:

- Methods and technics of adult education (67 %)
- Elaboration and evaluation of adult education (54 %)
- Survey of adult education (53 %)
- Organization and administration of adult education (48 %)
- The adult learner (46 %)
- The adult learning (43 %)
- Society and adult education (37 %)
- Adult education and social change (35 %)

It is around these specific contents that the academic field of study of andragogy (adult education) is constituted.

A second group of 7 specific contents constitutes also a certain consensus. They are present in the programs of at least 20 % of the 81 universities and in the programs of universities in each of the areas.

These specific contents are:

- Principles of adult education or andragogy (41 %)
- Comparative adult education or andragogy (30 %)
- History of adult education (27 %)
- The adult educators (27 %)
- Literacy (25 %)
- The group technics in adult education (20 %)

Almost all the universities have research seminars, internships and individual reading courses. It is impossible for each university to offer all the specific contents. On average, each university offers 8 different courses. In that context it is remarquable to notice such a degree of consensus.

After a second analysis of the 50 specific contents it was possible to establish 13 content's categories.[1]

A first group of 8 content's categories constitutes a large consensus. They are present in the programs of at least 48 % of the 81 universities and also in the programs of more than 25 % of the universities of each of the areas.

These content's categories are:

. 8 - Instrumentation of adult education (73 %)
. 5 - The adult learner (64 %)
. 2 - Theories, researchs, problems and trends of adult education (58 %)
. 3 - Orientations of adult education (54 %)
. 7 - Elaboration and evaluation of adult education activities (54 %)
. 1 - Nature and survey of adult education (53 %)
. 11 - Domains of adult education (53 %)
. 9 - Organization and administration of adult education (48 %)

[1] Cf Table 3; Annex 5.



A second group of 4 content's categories constitutes a certain consensus. Although they are present in the programs of more than 24 % of the 81 universities they are represented in fewer than 25 % of the universities of one area.

These content's categories are:

. 4 - Society and adult education (37 %) (United States = 21 %)
. 10 - Adult education and social change (35 %) (Europe = 21 %)
. 6 - The adult educators (27 %) (United Kingdom - 18 %; Rest of the world = 9 %)
. 12 - Specific clienteles of adult education (24 %) (United Kingdom - 9 %; Rest of the world = 9 %)

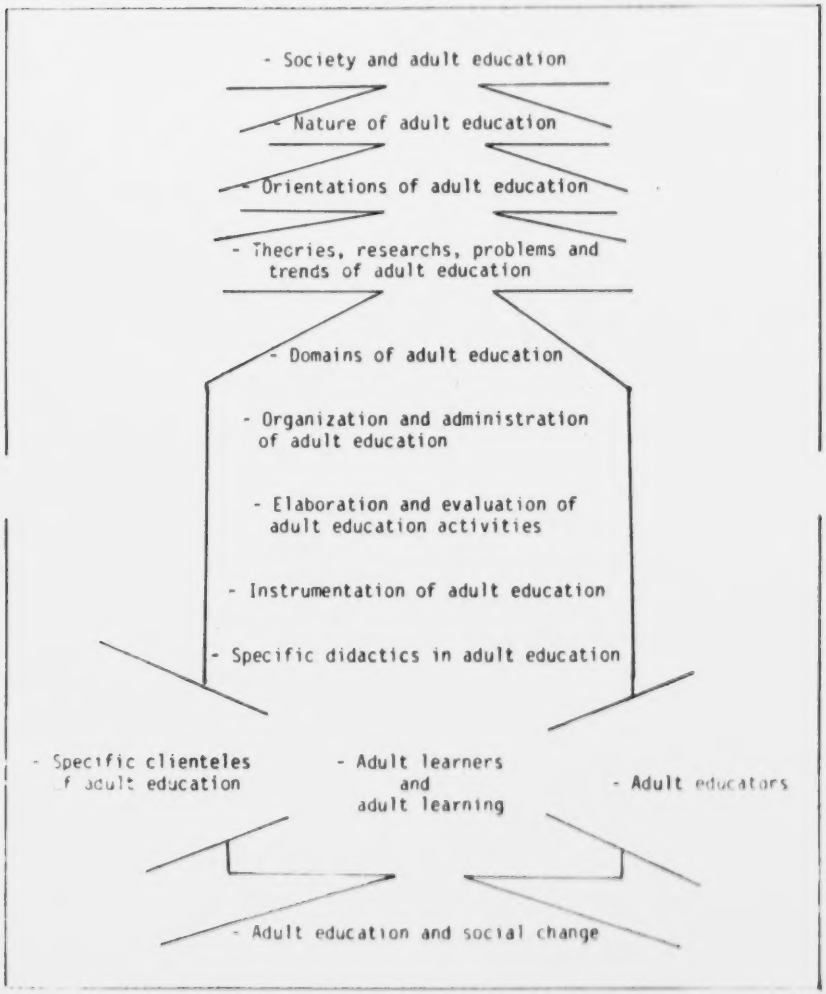
Only one content's category is almots absent: . 13 - Specific didactics in adult education (4 %). This fact constitutes a real difference with the other fields of study in education.

After this second analysis it is more evident that, although andragogy (adult education) is a new, recent and growing field of academic study, this field is distinguished by a high degree of consensus for its contents.

It is possible to represent the academic field of study of andragogy by the following chart.

CHART 1

The field of study of andragogy


- Society and adult education
- Nature of adult education
- Orientations of adult education
- Theories, researchs, problems and trends of adult education
- Domains of adult education
- Organization and administration of adult education
- Elaboration and evaluation of adult education activities
- Instrumentation of adult education
- Specific didactics in adult education
- Specific clienteles of adult education
- Adult learners and adult learning
- Adult educators
- Adult education and social change

Is it also possible to establish a degree of consensus for the domains of research?

To do so, we have analysed 211 research domain's wordings furnished by 71 universities: 10 from the United Kingdom, 18 from Europe, 16 from the United States, 7 from Canada and 20 from the rest of the world. On average, each university declared conducting research in 3 domaines (UNESCO, 1982). [1]

In the context of the 13 content's categories, and following their visualization in chart 1, we have established 6 research's categories:

1 - Society, adult education and social change
2 - Nature, orientations, theories, research, problems and trends of adult education
3 - Domains of adult education
4 - Organization and administration of adult education
5 - Elaboration and evaluation of adult education activities
6 - Instrumentation, didactic, adult learners and adult learning, and adult educators.

Each of the 211 research domain's wordings was classified in these research's categories giving the following result:

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[1] Touchette (1987): 49-69.

. 3 - Domains of adult education (38 %) (79 on 211)

. 6 - Instrumentation, didactic, adult learners and adult learning, and adult educators (24 %) (50 on 211)

. 1 - Society, adult education and social change (15 %) (32 on 211)

. 2 - Nature, orientations, theories, researchs, problems and trends in adult education (10 %) (22 on 211)

. 5 - Elaboration and evaluation of adult education activities (8 %) (17 on 211)

. 4 - Organization and administration of adult education (5 %) (11 on 211)

Researchs are conducted in the six categories by universities in each of our five areas of the world.

The order of importance of the research conducted in each of the six categories is almost the same for the five areas.

Fifteen percent of the 71 universities conducted research in each of the six categories.

The implication of the universities in research in each of the six categories is as follow:

- 68 % in category 3 - Domains
- 56 % in category 6 - Intervention
- 42 % in category 1 - Society
- 31 % in category 2 - Orientations
- 24 % in category 5 - Elaboration and evaluation
- 15 % in category 4 - Administration





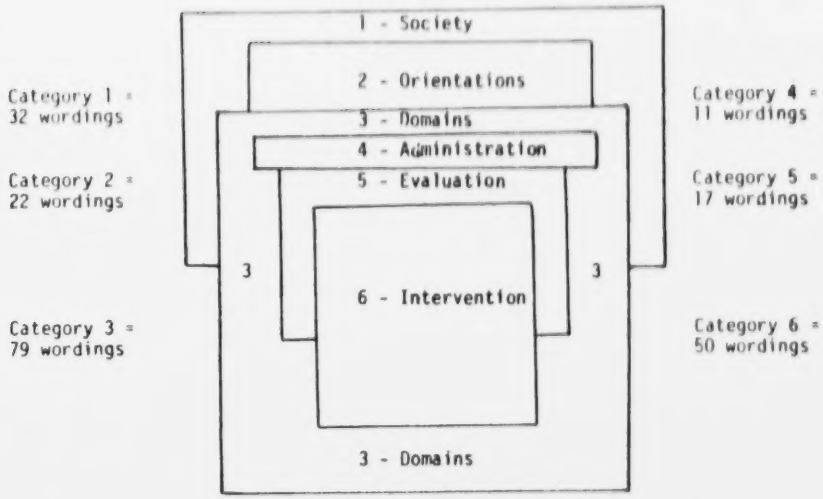
It is evident that in research too there is a high degree of consensus.

To represent the relating importance of each of the six categories of research we have constructed chart number 2.

CHART 2

Research in andragogy

Relative importance of six categories




The focus of the research is on the intervention in the context of the domains. The intervention is influenced by the administration and the evaluation. The dynamic of this focus is dependent on the society and the orientations.

After the analysis of the contents of the courses and the domains of research it is possible to conclude that andragogy (adult education) in 1982, had many of the characteristics of a self-sustaining field of academic study.





The internal university political consecration of a self-sustaining field of academic study is usually granted by a relative administrative independence.

An analysis of the administrative organization of andragogy (adult education) in 94 universities in 1982 demonstrates that in 59 universities (63%) such a status was granted[1]. It is only in the United States that such a status was not granted by the majority of the universities. This characteristic is more evident when adult education has a link with a school of education.

This phenomenon was more evident in the United States in 1987.[2]

In 1985, 82 journals were reporting research's findings in adult education and were published: 40 in Europe, 18 in North America, 6 in Central and Latin America, 4 in Africa and 14 in the rest of the world.[3]

Many associations of adult educators and of research workers are now constituted.[4]

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1 UNESCO 9182); cf. table 4; Touchette (1987): 69-90.

2 Touchette (1987): 90-103; table 5.

3 UNESCO (1985): Répertoire...; Touchette (1987): 22-25; cf annex 6.

4 UNESCO (1984).

The Paris conference on adult education established the absolute priority for governments to promote adult education and for universities to conduct researchs and training in andragogy. In many countries there are associations of adult education and governmental administrative divisions. In other countries such associations and administrative divisions are now created. Many international associations exist and more are now also created.

Since at least 1928 pioneer universities have granted to adult education the status of an academic field of study and, doing so, have participated to the definition of this field. Their example was followed by many universities all over the world. The growth of this trend was remarquable after 1969 and is exponential today.

For a so young field of academic study it is worthy to notice a surprising number of consensus:

- the degrees granted are mostly at the graduate level,
- prior-experience is pre-required for registration,
- the delimitation of the dimensions of contents of the courses is, in fact, generally agreed upon,
- the core corpus of the field is virtually well defined,
- the characteristics of a growing new self-sustaining field of academic study are present,
- the particular dynamics of the research's focus are visible.

Many universities have granted to this field of study the status of an independent administrative unit.



At least, 82 journals, from all parts of the world, report research findings. And, in many countries, professional associations of adult educators and associations of research workers were created. In some countries, andragogy (adult education) was recognized as a fully fledged learned society.

Inside the field there are differences and movements. Healthy strong discussions and academic critics are present. But the field cannot grant to its scholars the same sense of security generally being the prerogative of older well established field of academic study.

For me, one of the most pressing questions now asked to the field is where are its natural links, in the social sciences (politics, economics, sociology, industrial-relations, social services, anthropology) or in education?

The political consequences of the answer to this question, for the growth of the field, are crucial.

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# A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ANDRAGOGY (ADULT EDUCATION) AS A FIELD OF ACADEMIC STUDY IN THE WORLD

## TABLES AND ANNEX


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TABLE 1

Distribution of universities according to areas and decade of first offering of a program in adult education

| Decades | Number of universities | | | | | | Cumulative total | % by decade |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | United Kingdom | Europe | United States | Canada | Rest of the world | Total by decade | | |
| 1950 | | 2 | 3 | | | 5 | 5 | 6 |
| 1950-1959 | | 4 | 4 | 1 | | 9 | 14 | 10 |
| 1960-1969 | 6 | 2 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 28 | 42 | 31 |
| 1970-1979 | 7 | 15 | 6 | 5 | 13 | 46 | 88 | 52 |
| 1980-1982 | | | | | 1 | 1 | 89 | 1 |
| Total | 13 | 23 | 22 | 11 | 20 | 89 | | 100 |

ANNEX 1

Universités qui reconnaissent [redacted] l'éducation des adultes comme champ d'étude [redacted][1]

Avant 1950

- Université d'Helsinki: programmes transférés par la suite à l'Université de Tampere
- Ecole centrale d'agriculture de Varsovie
- Université du Wisconsin à Madison
- Université Cornell
- Université George Washington

1950-1959

- Université de Varsovie
- Université de Jagiellonian
- Université de Lodz
- Université de Wyzza
- Université de Boston
- Université d'Etat de Louisiane
- Université d'Etat du Michigan
- Université du Wyoming
- Université de British Columbia

[1] Liste colligée à partir de l'analyse des données fournies par UNESCO (1982)

1960-1969

- Université d'Edimbourg
- Université de Glasgow
- Université de Leicester
- Université de Liverpool
- Université de Manchester
- Université de Reading

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- Université de la Rhür à Bochum
- Université pontificale de Salamanca

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- Université de Caroline du Sud
- Université du Connecticut
- Université de la Floride du Sud
- Université Georgia
- Université du Mississipi
- Université du Nebraska (Lincoln)
- Université du Rhode Island
- Université Rutgers
- Université Milwaukee

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- Université d'Alberta
- Université de Calgary
- Université de Guelph
- Université de Montréal
- DISE

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- Université de Nairobi
- Université d'Ibadan
- Université de Dar-Es-Salaam
- Université de Melbourne
- Université de Keimyung
- Université de Faisalabad



1970-1979

- Université de Bristol
- Université de Gwent
- Université de Londres
- Université de Sheffield
- Université de Southampton
- Collège universitaire de Swansea
- Université Nouvelle de l'Ulster

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- Académie pédagogique de Chypre
- Université de Paris (Dauphine)
- Université de Jérusalem
- Université de Florence
- Institut d'éducation des adultes de Dublin
- Collège St-Patrick
- Université de Linköping
- Université de Lund
- Université de Malmö
- Université de Stockholm
- Université de Minho
- Université de Ljubljana
- Université de Sarajevo
- Université de Skopje
- Université de Zagreb

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- Université d'Arkansas
- Université de la Floride de l'Atlantique
- Université de l'Illinois
- Université de l'Illinois du Nord
- Université du Minnesota
- Université polytechnique d'Etat de Virginie

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1980-82

- Université de Naukka

- Université Concordia
- Université Laval
- Université St-François-Xavier
- Université de Sherbrooke
- Université Victoria

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- Cours universitaire du Mobral
- Université nationale autonome du Costa-Rica
- Institut dominicain de certification professionnelle en andragogie
- Université St-Augustin
- Université du Botswana
- Université du Ghana
- Université de Lagos
- Université de Calabar
- Université de Khartoum
- Université de la Zambie
- Collège universitaire du Swaziland
- Université de New-England
- Université de Madras

ANNEX 2

Pays où l'andragogie (éducation des adultes) est reconnue

comme champ d'étude universitaire

Avant 1950

- Finlande
- Pologne
- Etats-Unis

1950-1959

- Canada

1960-1969

- Angleterre
- Ecosse
- Allemagne fédérale
- Espagne
- Kenya
- Nigéria
- Tanzanie
- Australie
- Corée
- Pakistan

1970-1979

- Pays de Galles
- Irlande du Nord
- Chypre
- France
- Israël
- Italie
- Suède
- Yougoslavie
- Brésil
- Costa Rica
- République Dominicaine
- Jamaïque
- Bostwana
- Ghana
- Soudan
- Zambie
- Switzerland
- Inde

Autres pays pour lesquels les dates ne sont pas fournies

- Zimbawe
- Tchécoslovaquie
- Hongrie
- Pérou
- Panama
- Nouvelle-Zélande
- Vénézuela



ANNEX 3

Universités américaines (1987)[1]

1- Alabama (2)[2]

- Auburn University - A[3]
- University of Alabama - A[4]
- Tuskegee Institute - B*

2- Alaska (1)

- Alaska Pacific Univesity - B

3- Arizona (0)

- Arizona State University - B*

4- Arkansas (2)

- University of Arkansas (Little rock) - A
- University of Arkansas - A

5- California (3)

- Fielding Institute - B
- St. Francisco State University - B
- University of South California - B
- United State International University - B*

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1 Liste des quatre-vingt-quinze (95) universités américaines questionnées en 1987 lors de deux enquêtes téléphoniques. La première enquête fut réalisée en mars 1987 et a rejoint cinquante (50) universités. La deuxième fut conduite les 11, 12, 13 et 14 octobre 1987 et a rejoint quarante-cinq (45) autres universités.

2 Nombre d'universités qui dans l'Etat ont des programmes actifs de 2e ou de 3e cycles en éducation des adultes.

3 La lettre A représente une université contactée en mars 1987.

4 La lettre B représente une université contactée en octobre 1987. Le signe * représente une université où le programme a été discontinué.

6- Colorado (1)

- Colorado State University - A

7- Connecticut (2)

- St. Joseph College - B
- University of Connecticut - B

8- District of Columbia (3)

- University of District of Columbia - A
- George Washington University - B
- Howard University - B

9- Florida (6)

- Florida ADM University - A
- Florida Atlantic University - A
- Florida State University - A
- University of South Florida - A
- Nova University - A
- Florida International University - B

10- Georgia (2)

- University of Georgia - A
- Georgia Southern College - A

11- Idaho (1)

- University of Idaho - A

12- Illinois (4)

- Nothern Illinois University - A
- National College of Education - B
- Roosevelt University - B**
- Southern Illinois University - B
- University of Illinois - B

13- Indiana (1)

- Ball State University - A
- Indiana University - B*

14- Iowa (1)

- Iowa State University - A

15- Kansas (2)

- Kansas State University - B
- Wichita State University - B

16- Kentucky (1)

- Morehead State University - A

17- Louisiana (2)

- Louisiana State University - A
- University of New Orleans - A

18- Maine (1)

- University of Southern Maine - B

19- Maryland (1)

- University of Maryland - A

20- Massachusetts (2)

- Boston Unviersity - A
- Worcester State College - B

21- Michigan (2)

- Michigan State University - A
- University of Michigan - A

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1 Le signe ** signifie que les admissions sont suspendues à cette université.

22- Minnesota (1)

- University of Minnesota - A

23- Mississipi (1)

- Jackson State University - A**
- University of Southern Mississipi - B

24- Missouri (5)

- University of Missouri, Columbia - A
- University of Missouri, St.Louis - A
- Central Missouri State University - B
- Lincoln University - B
- University of Missouri, Kansas City - B

25- Montana (1)

- Montana State University - B

26- Nebraska (1)

- University of Nebraska - A

27- New Jersey (1)

- Rutgers University - A

28- New Mexico (0)

- University of New Mexico - B*

29- New York (4)

- Columbia University - A
- Cornell University - A
- Syracuse University - A
- State University of New Yor, Albany - B
- Adelphi University - B*
- College of New York - B*
- State University of New York, Binghamton - B*

30- North Carolina (3)

- East Carolina University - A
- North Carolina State University - A
- University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill - B

31- Ohio (2)

- Kent State University - A
- Ohio State University - B

32- Oklahoma (3)

- Oklahoma State University - A
- University of Oklahoma - A
- Central State University - B

33- Oregon (1)

- Oregon State University - B

34- Pensylvania (3)

- Indiana University of Pensylvania - A
- Pensylvania State University - A
- Temple University - A
- University of Pittsburgh - B**

35- Rhode Island (1)

- University of Rhode Island - A

36- South Dakota (0)

- University of South Dakota - B*

37- Texas (7)

- Texas A+I University - A
- University of Texas-Austin - A
- Incarnate Word College - B
- Texas A.+M. University - B
- North Texas State University - B
- Texas Women's University - B
- East Texas State University - B

38- Tennessee (2)

- University of Tennessee - A
- Memphis State University - B

39- Virginia (2)

- Virginia Commonwealth University - A
- Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University - A

40- Washington (2)

- Washington State University - B
- Western Washington University - B

41- Wisconsin (2)

- University of Wisconsin, Madison - A
- University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee - A

42- Wyoming (1)

- University of Wyoming - A

ANNEX 4

Specific contents of andragogy

Distribution by percentage of universities and by areas

| Specific contents | Areas | | | | | Total % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | U.K. % | E. % | U.S. % | CAN. % | R.W. % | |
| Techniques et méthodes de l'éducation des adultes | 73 | 58 | 79 | 67 | 61 | 67 |
| L'élaboration et l'évaluation des activités en éducation des adultes | 28 | 26 | 84 | 78 | 57 | 54 |
| Nature et survol de l'éducation des adultes | 55 | 26 | 58 | 89 | 57 | 53 |
| Organisation et administration de l'éducation des adultes | 28 | 32 | 63 | 33 | 65 | 48 |
| L'apprenant adulte | 37 | 58 | 32 | 57 | 48 | 46 |
| L'apprentissage adulte | 46 | 42 | 47 | 67 | 30 | 43 |
| La société, le milieu et l'éducation des adultes | 37 | 58 | 21 | 56 | 26 | 37 |
| L'éducation des adultes et le changement social | 46 | 21 | 32 | 44 | 39 | 35 |
| Principes de l'éducation des adultes ou de l'andragogie | 46 | 47 | 16 | 33 | 57 | 41 |
| L'éducation des adultes ou l'andragogie comparée | 37 | 47 | 5 | 44 | 26 | 30 |
| Histoire de l'éducation des adultes | 46 | 26 | 16 | 44 | 17 | 27 |
| L'éducateur d'adultes | 18 | 32 | 37 | 56 | 9 | 27 |

(suite)

| Specific contents | Areas | | | | | Total % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | U.K. % | E. % | U.S. % | CAN. % | R.W. % | |
| L'alphabétisation | 18 | 16 | 21 | 21 | 30 | 25 |
| Les techniques de groupe en éducation des adultes | 9 | 32 | 11 | 67 | 5 | 20 |
| Recherches en éducation des adultes (méthodes et résultats) | 18 | 5 | 16 | 67 | 9 | 17 |
| Orientations philosophiques de l'éducation des adultes | 27 | 16 | 11 | 22 | 13 | 16 |
| L'extension agricole | 9 | 5 | 26 | 22 | 9 | 14 |
| L'éducation des adultes à distance et les mass médias | 18 | 11 | 5 | 33 | 9 | 12 |
| Problèmes et tendances en éducation des adultes | | 5 | 21 | 56 | 9 | 15 |
| Fondements de l'éducation des adultes | | 5 | 21 | 33 | 9 | 12 |
| L'éducation des adultes non formelle | 9 | 5 | 11 | | 9 | 7 |
| L'éducation des adultes et le monde du travail | 9 | 5 | 16 | | 4 | 7 |
| L'éducation des adultes familiale | 9 | 5 | | 11 | 9 | 6 |
| Les jeunes adultes | 9 | 11 | 5 | | | 5 |
| Les désavantagés | 9 | 5 | 5 | | | 4 |
| Les personnes du 3ème âge | | | 21 | 33 | | 9 |





(suite)

| Specific contents | Areas | | | | | Total % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | U.K. | E. % | U.S. % | CAN. % | R.W. % | |
| Les autodidactes | | | 16 | 22 | | 6 |
| Politiques de l'éducation des adultes | 18 | 11 | | | | 5 |
| L'éducation des adultes post-secondaire | 9 | | 16 | | | 5 |
| L'éducation des adultes et les loisirs | | 5 | 11 | | | 4 |
| L'éducation des adultes et le milieu carcéral | 9 | | | 11 | | 3 |
| L'éducation des adultes générale (libéral et arts) | 9 | | 5 | | | 3 |
| L'éducation des adultes internationale | | 5 | | 22 | | 4 |
| La créativité en éducation des adultes | | 5 | | 11 | | 3 |
| L'éducation des adultes des travailleurs "workers education" | 9 | | | | 4 | 3 |
| Les langues secondes | | | 11 | 11 | | 3 |

(suite)

Les contenus particuliers suivants ont été attribués au champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes dans une seule région.

1- Europe : Les sessions en éducation des adultes

L'éducation des adultes récurrente

Les centres résidentiels

L'architecture de l'éducation des adultes

L'éducation des adultes et le bien-être social

L'éducation religieuse des adultes

Les émigrants

Les marginaux

2- Etats-Unis : L'éducation des adultes et les carrières

L'éducation des adultes et le développement des ressources humaines

3- Canada : La formation continue des professionnels

L'éducation continue des femmes

4- Reste du monde : L'éducation des adultes des handicapés

La formation politique des adultes

TABLE 2

Degrees in adult education (andragogy) in 95 universities (1982)

| Degrees | Number of universities | | | | | | % on 95 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | United Kingdom | Europe | United States | Canada | Rest of the world | Total | |
| Undergraduate Certificate | 12 | 12 | 2 | 7 | 17 | 50 | 53 % |
| Bachelor Degree | | | | 2 | 4 | 6 | 6 % |
| Graduate Certificate | | 6 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 11 % |
| Master Degree | 9 | 8 | 20 | 8 | 7 | 52 | 55 % |
| Doctoral Degree | 1 | 8 | 13 | 4 | 1 | 27 | 28 % |

TABLE 3

Distribution by percentage of universities and by areas

| Content's categories | Areas | | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | U.K. % | E. % | U.S. % | CAN. % | R.W. % | % |
| 1- Nature et survol de l'éducation des adultes | 55 | 26 | 58 | 89 | 57 | 53 |
| 2- Théories, recherches, problèmes et tendances de l'éducation des adultes | 55 | 58 | 47 | 78 | 61 | 58 |
| 3- Orientations de l'éducation des adultes | 82 | 53 | 37 | 67 | 52 | 54 |
| 4- La société, le milieu et l'éducation des adultes | 37 | 58 | (21) | 56 | 26 | 37 |
| 5- L'apprenant et l'apprentissage adulte | 73 | 68 | 63 | 78 | 52 | 64 |
| 6- L'éducateur d'adultes | (18) | 32 | 37 | 56 | (9) | 27 |
| 7- L'élaboration et l'évaluation des activités en éducation des adultes | 27 | 26 | 84 | 78 | 57 | 54 |
| 8- L'instrumentation de l'éducation des adultes | 82 | 74 | 79 | 78 | 61 | 73 |
| 9- L'organisation et l'administration de l'éducation des adultes | 28 | 32 | 63 | 33 | 65 | 48 |
| 10- L'éducation des adultes et le changement social | 46 | (21) | 32 | 44 | 39 | 35 |
| 11- Des domaines d'intervention en éducation des adultes | 64 | 42 | 63 | 67 | 43 | 53 |
| 12- Des clientèles particulières en éducation des adultes | (9) | 26 | 37 | 44 | (9) | 24 |
| 13- Des contenus particuliers en éducation des adultes | | | 11 | 11 | | 4 |



ANNEX 5

Typology of the contents of the academic field of study of andragogy (adult education) [1]

1 - Nature and survey of adult education (58)[2]

2 - Theories, researchs, problems and trends of adult education

. Principles of adult education 25) or of andragogy (13)
. Research in adult education (methods and results) (16)
. Problems and trends in adult education (12)

3 - Orientations of adult education

. Comparative adult education or andragogy (25)
. History of adult education (21)
. Foundations of adult education (10)
. Policies of adult education (4)
. Philosophical orientations of adult education (13)

4 - Society and adult education (38)

5 - The adult learner and adult learning

. The adult learner (37)
. Adult learning (39)

6 - The adult educators (22)

7 - Elaboration and evaluation of adult education activities (58)

8 - Instrumentation of adult education

. Methods and techniques of adult education (55)
. Group techniques in adult education (16)
. Creativity in adult education (2)
. Workshop in adult education (1)
. Recurrent education (1)
. Residential centers (1)
. Architecture and adult education (1)

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[1] Constituted from the courses of 81 universities.

[2] This number represent the number of universities having this content in their programs.

9 - Organization and administration of adult education (34)

10 - Adult education and social change (37)

11 - Domains of adult education

- Literacy (21)
- Cooperative extension (12)
- Distant education (10)
- Vocational adult education (7)
- Non-formal adult education (6)
- Parent education (5)
- Post-secondary adult education (4)
- Prison education (3)
- Leasure adult education (3)
- International adult education (3)
- Literal-arts adult education (2)
- Continuing education of professionals (1)
- Career adult education (1)
- Human resources development (1)
- Welfare adult education (1)
- Religious education of adults (1)
- Political education of adults (1)

12 - Specific clienteles of adult education

- The elderly (7)
- The self-learners (5)
- The youngs (4)
- The under-privileges (3)
- The workers (2)
- The handicaps (1)
- The emigrants (1)
- The women (1)
- The marginals (1)

13 - Specific didactic in adult education

- Second languages (3)

**Structures administratives du chapo d'étude de l'éducation des adultes/andragogie**

**dans 94 universités, selon les régions**

| Structures administratives | Lieu de rattachement | Régions du monde | | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | R.U. | E. | E.U. | C. | R.M. | |
| non-autonome | extra-mural | 4 | | 1 | | 4 | 9 |
| | philosophie | | 2 | | | | 2 |
| | éducation | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 9 |
| | département, en éducation, avec d'autres champs d'étude | 1 | 2 | 10 | 2 | | 15 |
| sous total | | 6 | 6 | 12 | 5 | 6 | 35 |
| autonome | extra-mural | 2 | | | | | 2 |
| | agriculture | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| | éducation | 3 | 10 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 34 |
| | art & philosophie | | 3 | | 1 | | 4 |
| | institut autonome | 2 | 2 | | | 7 | 11 |
| sous total | | 8 | 17 | 10 | 7 | 17 | 59 |
| Grand total | | 14 | 23 | 22 | 12 | 23 | 94 |

TABLE 5

Universités québécoises: 1987

Répartition selon le nombre de professeurs à plein temps et selon la structure administrative[1]

| Structure administrative | Unités de rattachement | Universités et nombre de professeurs à plein temps | | Total nombre d'universités |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 5 professeurs ou moins | 6 professeurs et plus | |
| sans structure autonome | extension | ① | | 1 |
| | agriculture | ③ ③ ③ | | 3 |
| | éducation non départementalisée | ⑩ ⑪ ① ② ⑫ ⑬ | | 6 |
| | département en éducation avec d'autres champs d'études | ⑩ ⑩ ⑫ ⑩ ⑩ ① ① ①

. International Journal of Lifelon Education (1982): United Kingdom

. Adult and Continuing Education Today (1972): U.S.A.

. Adult Education Clearinghouse Newsletter (1973): U.S.A.

. Adult Education Quarterly: A Journal of Research and Studies (1950): U.S.A.

. Continuum: U.S.A.

. Journal of Correctional Education: U.S.A.

. Journal of Extension (1962): U.S.A.

. The NHSC News: U.S.A.

. Notes on Literacy: U.S.A.

. The Reader; the Newsletter of Literacy Volunteers of America (1972): U.S.A.

. What's the Buzz - Pensylvania's Adult Basic Education Newsletter (1980)

. International Associates Newsletter (1982): U.S.A.

. AFC Newsletter, International Edition: U.S.A.

. Educational Gerontology: An International Quaterly: U.S.A.

. Les carnets: Bulletin trimestriel de l'ISEFD (1983): Zaïre

. Education des adultes: Information de la communauté protestante de travail pour l'éducation des adultes en Suisse (1967)

. Education permanente (1967): Suisse

. Flash formation continue (1975): France

. Etudes et expérimentation. Notes d'information sur les études et les synthèses statistiques (1983): France

. Education permanente (1969): France

. Les cahiers d'animation (1972): France

. Note d'information (1982): Belgique

. Revista De Educacion (1928): Chili



. Educacion Permanente (1973): Colombie

. Revista Educacion De Adultos (1983): Mexique

. Revista Interamericano De Educacion de Adultos (1979): Mexique

. Serie Luadernos Del Crefal (1977): Mexique

. Serie Retablo De Panel (1980): Mexique

. Die Österreichische Volksbochschole (1951): Autriche

. Forschung Der Sozialistislhen Brufsbildong (1967): German Democratic Republic

. Adult Education and Development (1973): Allemagne Fédérale

. Das Forum Zeitschrift Der Volkshochschulen In Bayern (1961): Allemagne Fédérale

. Volkshochschule Im Westen (1949): Allemagne Fédérale

. International Yearbook of Adult Education (1969): Allemagne Fédérale

. Fujin Kyoiku Joho (1979): Japon

. Gerkan Kominkhn (1948): Japon

. Karubutsukan Kenkyu (1928): Japon

. Kokurtsu Shakentsushin (1971): Japon

. Shakai Kyoiku (1946): Japon

. Adult Education in Finland (1963)

. Kansanopisto/Fogkhögskolan (1928): Finlande

. Rauhankirje (1981): Finlande

. Kristen Folkehogskøle (1973): Norvège

. Studienytt (1952): Norvège

. Epistolo Didaktika: Norvège

. Folkhogskölan: Suède

. Ungvärld: Suède

. Nordisk Tidskrift För Folkbilding Och Vuxenundervisning (1984): Suède

. Aftenskolebladet (1979): Danemark

. Vestnik Vysshey Shkoly (1940): URSS

. Sovetskaja Pedagogika (1937): URSS

. Doskonalenie Kadr Kerownicczych (1959): Pologne

. Problemi Natruda (1959): Bulgarie

. Osvetova Praca (1951): Tchécoslovaquie

. Andragogija (1955): Yougoslavie

. Afto Mor Fossi (1983): Grèce

. Vormingi Tiudschrift Voor Volwassenenucatie (1952): Pays-Bas

. Eda Bimestrale Per Lo Sviloppo Del L'Educazione Degli Adulti (1980): Italie

. Prismanfe, Newsletter (1979): Philippine

. Weasarn Kamuijai Sonthes (1982): Thaflande

. Journal of Leisure Researcg: U.S.A.

VIIth WORLD CONGRESS OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

Klaus Harney

Discussion Paper for Session IV of the CSRCAE Program

# The Adult Education Center In Germany as a Case of Social Change and Cross - Cultural Comparison.

## 1.0 The frame of reference

For the purpose of comparison it is necessary to develop a tool for discovering and relating differences as well as for emerging a framework, that is capable to identify the problems those differences are derived from (KIDD 1981, p.226). Such a framework is necessary in order to go beyond a reporting approach, which is usually related to differences in the sense of practical orientation, but not to differences in the sense of problem centred explanation. (SCHRIEWER 1988,p. 76) Opposed to a reporting approach, which only requires the two dimensions of a contrast, the problem centred comparison is based on three dimensions: the problem, which generates and limits the context on the one hand; the two culturally separated objects (like laws, institutions, patterns of behavior, cultural phenomena etc.) on the other hand. The function of the context is to make comparison to be done by substituting the concrete separation of the objects for a methodically arranged relationship.

For the methodical creation of this arrangement it is useful to consider the field of Adult Education in Germany as a self containing system of social relevance. Speaking about Adult Education in the sense of a system implies abstraction from the plurality of concrete empirical phenomena. Characterizing the plurality of Adult Education in this way also requires methodological decisions in order to legitimize the artificial unification, which the idea of a system implies.

The term "Adult Education" is the translation of the german "Erwachsenenbildung". Yet the terms do not refer to exactly the same background of meaning. The difference of connotation gives a characteristic hint at nationally differing processes of system formation concerning the institutional spectrum of Adult Education. Covering either the whole spectrum or being used for demanding efforts of general selfformation in the sense of "Bildung" the german "Erwachsenenbildung" does not refer to special target groups, but to the life span as well as to the development tasks beyond school age. Opposed to this the meaning of Adult Education in the United States (as it has been defined by the "Adult Education Act" in 1966) is linked to the educational system and implies the focussing on target groups, who are labelled by failures in reaching a basic standard of school knowledge. (SAUSEN 1981) The difference represents nationally specific modes of relating public power incorporated by the educational system to the spectrum of Adult Education, for which the influence as well the institutional form of private power is of much more importance.

According to the recent sociological system theory the idea of a system does not imply the idea of a visible organic entity. But it implies the idea of social meaning, which can be considered as a focus for putting concrete empirical phenomena into an unifying analytical context. In this sense social systems are systems focused on meaning, their borderlines are the borders of areas of meaning. (LUHMANN 1984)

The institutional object, which gives a good example for looking at Adult Education as a nationally formed system and making it comparable to other systems, is the so called Adult Education Center ("Volkshochschule"). Emphasizing the comparative aspect the central topic is not the "Volkshochschule" itself, but the developing of an analytical framework of comparison; in other words: it is the comparative relevance of the "Volkshochschule" as a case for identfying similarities and differences of the national ways and the national cultures of Adult Education.

The example, which is obvious as a comparable counterpart, is the institution of Community Colleges in the United States:

To put both, the US Community Colleges and the German "Volkshochschulen", in relation to each other - without seeing them as simply synonymous - requires certain assumptions about the realities they share and about the realities they do not. (Though some studies about the institutions of Adult Education in the United States -- Community Colleges included -- have been done during the last years a analytical context, that is capable to identify those realities, has not been worked out yet.)

The assumptions, which I use in order to introduce the common base of problems and to decide this question, are related to the historically and culturally bound mode of distribution between privat

and public power within the whole field of Adult Education.

2.0. Comparison from a systemtheoretical point of view

To verify the analytical capability of a context, that is focussing on the problem of power distribution, it is necessary to recognize the historical as well as the social implication, which the context contains: The first implication covers the rise and the development, the second one the contingency which the institutional framework of the adult Education Centers "Volkshochschulen" are based on. Both implications are linked to each other: Focussing on the first implication the emphasis lies upon certain socialhistorical und cultural configurations, which encourage the process in the sense of social meaning and cultural relevance. The discovering and defining of those resources for the emergence of problems as well for their institutional solution leads to the other perspective concerning the contingency question. Opposed to a thinking of reality in the sense of natural necessity the contingency question is related to a thinking of reality as an arrangement of culturally bound systems, which construct social reality as reality. (EPSTEIN 1988) By emphasizing the contingency of social phenomena reality is seen as a continuing process of system formation in the sense of emerging the framework for the recognition of problems as well as for corresponding solutions like laws, institutions, language patterns etc. Though this kind of systemtheoretical approach does not directly touch concrete problems of public Adult Education like illiteracy, learning behavior, instruction methods, the contingency question is relevant especially for identifying different configurations Adult Education.

2.1 Relationships between private and public and between subjectified and objectified patterns of Adult Education

From an empirical and historical point of view the difference between public and private can be taken as a system generating focus. The difference clearly characterizes each institutional as well as each selforganized effort of Adult Education in West Germany. The Adult Education Centers ("Volkshochschulen") are the key examples for analyzing the distribution of public and private power concerning the whole field of Adult Education as well as concerning the institutiona



extension, influence and limitation of the educational system in general.

The public sector of Adult Education in Germany is divided into two parts: One part consists of public supported institutions like the Adult Education Centers ("Volkshochschulen"). They receive grants and legislation from the states ("Länder") within the Federal Republic. (TITMUS, C.J./PARDON, A.R. 1975) The other part is dominated by Local Labour Offices. The Local Labour Offices operate as executing agencies of the Federal Labour Administration, which is responsible for the management of the unemployment ensurance, for the payment of benefits as well as for organizing vocational training programs according to the dynamics of the labour market. The suggested "tertium comparationis" could also be exemplified by these programs: The Labour Administration runs such programs as an instrument of social policy for certain target groups. The programs try to compensate failures of career and participation in the labour market. Because of the sorting out of non-participants among the clientele of the Labor Adminstration the programs provide a kind of renewed selection. Hence, the Adult Education of the Labour Administration does not work as an instrument of prevention and individual career promotion. On the contrary it works as an subordinated instrument of reaction to what happens in the private sector. (HOFBAUER/DADZIO 1987; NOLL 1987)

The distinction between public and private power can also be used as a perspective applicable to all industrialized countries of the Western World, which constituted any kind of organized Adult Education as a reaction to the formation of an educational system itself. Thus the mechanisms of power distribution highlight a problem of Adult Education, that can be seen as a common cross-national frame of reference.

Similar to the United States it is possible to define the public sector of Education (including Adult Education) in Germany as a sector, which is legitimized by universal standards. In other words: The public sector is either in the responsibility of public boards or supported by public grants. Therefore the main borderline of meaning between public and private runs between universalism and particularism as different modes of legitimizing the access, the standards, the recruitment of teachers etc. This borderline between Adult Education apart from the public sector and the spectrum, which is offered by public institutions or supported by public grants, effects certain social consequences. The entering of the private sector depends on the power of selection held by those, who finance und run the programs. Hence, the private sector is characterized by the connection between the personel decision to participate and participation as a mode of

social selection and as an expression of occupational hierarchy.

The difference between Germany and the United States is not directly affected by this distinction between private and public itself. The difference is based on the way how private and public institutional patterns of education are related to each other. In Germany the public sector is sharply separated from the private one. (Opposed to the system of Adult Education private institutions are without any importance for the structure of the primary and secondary education.)

Nowadays functions of Adult Education arising from the dynamics of social and economic change like overcoming skill shortages, improving the flexibility of the labour force in order to enable employees to adjust to new products and technologies are mainly occupied by private companies, consultants and corporations. Therefore the private sector incorporates the normal job- and carriererelated education as well as training programs for employees. Whereas caring for special target groups like the unemployed people or for disabled persons (in the mentioned sense of compensation and renewed selection) etc., or providing courses for completely selfrelated and subjectified applications is left to the public sector. Due to the considerable extension of the private sector during the last fifteen years the relationship between private and public has become the most important factor of education beyond the scope of the public educational system: More than fifty percent of participants in vocational education programs participate on the proposal of their superiors. (NOLL 1987) (Sometimes the private sector is excluded from the learning opportunities defined as Adult Education ("Erwachsenenbildung") and is called Continuing Education ("Weiterbildung"). From an analytical point of view this distinction ist not very useful: Both sectors deal with adults and both sectors are segmented into fields of different learning facilities.) A good example for this relationship is given by the difference of borderlines of meaning between the Adult Education Centers ("Volkshochschulen") and the Community Colleges. To some extent the programs and the services of Adult Education Centers ("Volkshochschulen") in West Germany overlap with the field of activity provided by the Community Colleges in the United States. Like the Community Colleges the Adult Education Centers offer a heterogeneous spectrum of educational opportunities. The access to the offered courses is possible for everybody. There are no formal



limitations to present a wide range of topics (i.e. local history, literature, languages, creative and vocationally related courses, political issues) the participants normally choose for their own sake. This kind of selfrelated participation, which is not linked with objectified social symbols like credit points, degrees or with a generalized acceptance of employers, is to some extent equivalent to the non credit courses supplied by the Community Colleges. Beyond these overlapping elements the system borderlines of Adult Education Centers ("Volkshochschulen") and Community Colleges follow different ways concerning the incorporation of tasks, which require the willingness of institutional cooperation and acceptance by business and industry. The average program of an Adult Education Center is designed to serve persons, who take part stimulated by their subjective systems of relevance. Elements of subjective relevance are for instance: to come into contact with other persons in order to feel at home in a new environment; to learn a language for holiday reasons; to compensate disappointed desires for social status and occupational career; to overcome critical life events etc. Subjective systems of relevance contain a mixture of these elements. The elements as well as the systems are not substantiated in the sense of Durkheim's social facts, but they are individually formed by the actual biography and life experience of each participating person. (KADE 1988) Opposed to subjectified patterns of relevance attracted by corresponding non-objectified arrangements of Adult Education the courses of a Community College are to a great extent characterized by linking the subjective relevances of their clientele with an objectified context of social career and of social acceptance by business and industry. (YARRINGTON 1989)

## 3.0. Historical aspects

From a structural and historical point of view the clientele of the Adult Education Centers ("Volkshochschulen") has been restricted to the mentioned kind of selfproduced relevance. During the 19th century Adult Education was a matter of local associations and local selfgovernment without any intervention from or any support by the state. The public educational system was uncompletely developed Functions like the training of literacy or of professional abilities

which nowadays are incorporated by the system, were delegated to a wide range of local associations, local evening schools, mechanic institutes etc.

Cocerning the peculiar character of vocational education in West Germany the proceß, which proved to be of special historical importance, was the transformation of the old guild system into a specific kind of vocational symbolism which became part of the public educational system. While the technical school system was emerging during the nineteenth century, a system of selfgovernment was expanding within the gap between the state on the one hand and the individual company on the other hand. The system of selfgovernment, which has been extended to all branches of business and industry, is rooted in two traditions: Firstly, in the feudal craftmen's and merchants'organisations, the guilds and corporations; secondly in the French tradition of selfgovernment, represented by the chambers of commerce and introduced by Napoleon at the beginning of the 19th century. Supported by a corresponding legislation the chamber became the selfgovernment body of modern business and industry; whereas a liberalised version of the old guild system (the so-called "Innungen") remained as the corresponding selfgovernment body of the handicrafts. Opposed to the chamber, which kept its traditional form as an advisory body based on the representation of enterpreneurs and companies of a certain region, the "Innung" is organizationally rooted in the history of professions and divided by professional boundaries. Because of this lack of symmetry there was a general system of professional training and professional advancement for the handicrafts (apprentice - jouneyman - master), but not for the industrial companies, which during the industrialization period tried to get qualified personnel by recruiting or hiring them or by using the strategy of developing a nucleus of permanent workers. The completion of an apprenticeship in a factory was recognised only within that factory, or alternatively it would have to be certified by examining committees of craftsmen and in this way "integrated" into the crafts system. This asymmetric distribution of social recognition gave dynamic force to the emerging of an equivalent system of industrial professions and initiated a state-controlled process of generalization of the profession as an universal pattern of training above company level. The profession developed to a normal state-recognised pattern of the public educational system. (WINDOLF 1982; STREECK/SCHMITTER 1985) Opposed to the United States the entering and the finishing of professional apprenticeship belongs to the normally expected symbolic forms of career within the educational system; whereas the educational system of the United States does not exclusively incorporate the function of professional education or professional apprenticeship as one of the normally expected types of success: it also leaves this function to the wide range of private as well as of public Adult Education without clear borderlines between the tasks of the educational system on the one hand and the tasks of the institutions of Adult Education - like the Community Colleges - on the other hand.

The state-controlled completion of the educational system sharply separated it from the field of Adult Education. The clear





institutionalized borderline between pre-Adult and Adult Education has caused a kind of structural lack concerning institutional developments apart from the state controlled educational system.

During the 19th century Adult Education was merely run by local associations and local municipalities. Adult Education did not exist as an institutional sector for its own: it was part of different social and cultural configurations within the actual local context. Adult Education was not related to educating or training adults in a specified sense. Adult Education was aimed at the reproduction of certain milieus and had to solve milieu - centred problems like illiteracy, superstition in agricultural regions, lack of vocational training etc. Generally speaking: Adult Education used to address problems; it did not relate to the adult himself. The evening schools, sunday schools and mechanic instituts, where Adult Education took place, offered their program as an ensemble of different courses - depending on local needs, local teacher resources, financial support by associations, companies, city counsils, politicians etc. Normally the students did not participate in the whole program, but chose one or two subjects for their own needs. The age of the participants could reach from very young students - apprentices or young unskilled workers for instance - to rather old students between fourty and fifty. (HARNEY 1987)

To some extent the traditional Adult Education worked on the basis of supply and demand. Schools which proved to be unable to match the needs of their local environmet went down to the walls or were substituted by new local arrangements. The students participated in an institutional context, that was part of their milieu and therefore strictly limited to their territorial and socialcultural environment. The traditional milieubound base of Adult Education did not distinguish between the territorial and socialcultural environment, which it used to be an element of. The students needs' did not belong to an abstract system of career as well as of hierarchical symbolism - both completely independent from any territorial reference (as is the case nowadys); but were generated by the perspectives and life orientation the local milieu was able to produce. This traditional practice of Adult Education has changed by the rise and by the internal completion of the public educational system.

At the end of the 19th century the public educational system

succeeded in bringing about literacy and entering the sphere of vocational education by establishing a level of compulsory vocational schools as well as regulating a coordinated level of apprenticeship. The internal completion of the public educational system destroyed the practice of milieubound education, that existed without a clear borderline between Adult Education and education within the public school system. By becoming independent from local environments the public educational system dissociated itself from the education of adults.

The consequence of this dissociation process was the emergence of the so-called "Adult Education movement" ("Volkshochschulbewegung") at the end of the 19th century. The movement emphasized pedagogical methods and aims, which were supposed to be of peculiar relevance concerning the education of adults. Adult Education in "Volkshochschulen" was thought as a matter of public relevance and public support. The guiding principles focused on the idea of fusing individual selfformation and social identification to a common cultural identity ("Volksgemeinschaft"). The ideological character, that surrounds the Adult Education Centers ("Volkshochschulen") as institutions based on universal standards of "Erwachsenenbildung" and implying a sharp separation from the private sector, is derived from this tradition. Opposed to the Community Colleges in the United States, which can be seen as well as criticized from a competetive point of view referring to the private service market of Adult Education, it makes no sense to comment on the "Volkshochschulen" in the same way: Their traditional selfdefinition is based on the exclusion of a marketrelated identity. (SMITH/VOS 1989)

## 4.0. The relevance of functional borderlines

This emerging of functional borderlines left the education of adults to itself: The emphasis of institutionalised education changed from the problemcentred milieubound orientation to an orientation, which is focussing on the difference between Pre-Adult and Adult Education. The involvement of the state centred upon the preparatory status of the educational system and left its continuation to certain cultural or political configurations on a lokal level, which the Adult Education Centers ("Volkshochschulen") as remainders of the mentioned proceß of system formation belonged to. As it is the case in the United States (CHARTERS 1975) the historical development of Adult Education in Germany has not emerged a central authority at the federal level. Yet opposed to Germany the Community Colleges in the United States continue the educational system and take possession of tasks this





system leaves to its environment. (WERNER 1988; MUNCH 1989)

Because of their historical tradition the social function of Adult Education Centers ("Volkshochschulen") in Germany is based on the described structural lack. For this reason there is less institutional room for overtaking functions of objectified social relevance. Instead of this the relevant pattern of objectifying adult education is based on the relationship public and private.

Nowadays the structural development of Adult Education is characterized by increasing the social importance of the private sector. This extension and increase of importance of the private sector is shaping the social space, which determines the relative position for the public sector, especially for the Adult Education Centers ("Volkshochschulen"). From a sociological point of view the institutional framework of Adult Education Centers ("Volkshochschulen") forms its own clientele. There is no independency between the framework and the selection of participants: The clientele which can be attracted is (not only but first of all) determined by the social position of the program and its institutional environment. (HARNEY/MARKOWITZ 1987) In this sense the Community Colleges represent another historically formed culture of treating the adult person as an element of organized educational contexts.

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# Adult Education World-wide - Revisited

**Abstract*: New publications in comparative international adult education offer a new level of comparative work. This thesis is investigated by using two new sources: Charters/Hiltons new book presenting eight "landmark-programs" from eight countries including an elaborate comparative analysis, and the about 200 case studies from 30 countries collected by Alan Knox 1986-1988. A selection of Knox' case studies is used for comparison with Charters/Hiltons analysis. The aim is to ask for general trends in adult education and the difficulties and pitfalls in international comparative methodology.**

## 1. Introduction

**My thesis is: New publications in international comparative adult education offer a new level of comparative work.**

This new level consists of material as well as methodology. Case studies, program descriptions become more and more available from more and more countries, and they more often follow a certain structure or outline that make them comparable. Some authors also start the brave venture by trying to compare, well knowing that this is a highly subjective, "soft", interpretative, hermeneutic work, open to all sorts of critique. This "new level of comparative work" is offered for example by two new sources: Alexander Charters/Ronald Hiltons new book presenting eight "landmark-programs" from eight countries including an elaborate comparative analysis, and the about 200 case studies from 30 countries collected by Alan Knox 1986-1988.

### 1.1 Charters/Hiltons Landmark Book

Alexander Charters' and Ronald J. Hiltons "Landmarks in International Adult Education. A Comparative Analysis" (1989) consists of two equally important parts:

1. a description of eight programs in eight countries by authors that are national experts for these programs:

**A. Charters/R. Hilton (1989): Landmarks in Adult Education**

| Land | Author | Program |
|---|---|---|
| Sweden | Rubenson | Study Circles |
| Denmark | Himmelstrup | Folk High School |
| Yugoslavia | Krajnc | Workers Universities |
| Great Britain | Fieldhouse | Workers Edu. Ass. |
| Canada | Morrison | Frontier College |
| France | Lengrand | People and Culture |
| U.S.A. | Long | Cooperative Extension |
| West Germany | Dohmen | Volkshochschule |

This part of the book is a valuable source of information in order to look behind the local hills which often fence in our view - especially helpful for use as textbook in seminars.

2. The final chapter by Charters and Hilton with a concluding "Similarities and Dissimilarities Assessment" is as important and challenging. They at first offer a comparative description of the key elements and issues of the landmark programs. The method they use is a rich and detailed use of quotations out of the landmark program descriptions. This does not only illustrate their statements but also enables the reader to control their conclusions by going back to the data-base presented in the eight program descriptions - which increases the "objectivity" of this type of research. And they offer a six-point summary with "reassessing observations" the book authors made.

These "six themes which seemed to the book authors nearly overpowering in their emphasis and reiteration" (194) in the program descriptions are:

1. passionate statements, extolling high moral standards; purposes, high minded and rightly intended: goals are global, needs assessment impressionistic.
2. the nearly inspirational faith in the individual to transform themselves and their society.
3. the faith in the adult education enterprise to successfully transform individuals and societies.
4. the commitment to openness and the lack of concern for system.

* Paper presented at AAACE-Conference - Comission of Professores of Adult Education: Atlantic City October 2, 1989.

5. "National trends and national goals are everywhere observed" (197).
6. the centrality of the learners.

### 1.2 Evaluation, Critique and Questions

This comparative analysis can be seen as a model for future research: it shows - and that seems to me to be new in comparative adult education - an analysis profoundly based on a database that is also available to the reader. And the six "reassessing observations" point out typical characteristics of adult education.

But there were also limitations in the database Charters/Hilton used for their observations and interpretations: Their database is limited to "landmark-programs" and western industrialized countries. So the question came up: Can these characteristics also be found in programs that are neither "landmark" nor "western industrialized countries"?

### 1.3 Alan Knox' Case Studies

Between 1986 and 1988 Alan Knox collected about 200 "case studies" (1989 available through ERIC). They are not expected to be "landmark", and they come from 29 countries:

**Case Studies Alan Knox 1986-1988 (29 Countries):**

Australia (24)
Cameroon (2)
Canada (11)
China (5)
Czechoslovakia (2)
Finland (8)
Germany, Fed. Rep. (14)
Ghana (2)
Greece (1)
Hong Kong (1)
Hungary (2)
India (4)
Ireland (15)
Israel (2)
Italy (9)
Japan (2)
Korea, DPR (1)
Netherlands (20)
Nigeria (5)
Norway (1)
Portugal (1)
Saudi Arabia (1)
Sweden (6)
Switzerland (1)
Tanzania (1)
United Kingdom (1)
U.S.A. (12)
U.S.S.R. (2)
Yugoslavia (7)

Alan Knox also asked the authors to follow a certain outline. As there are many parallels with Charters' protocol the Knox studies can be used to





proof whether the Charters analysis can be replicated with the Knox database.

| Alexander Charters/Ronald Hilton (1989) Landmarks in Adult Education<br>Protocol for Program Description: | Alan Knox (1986-1988) A World Perspective on Adult Education<br>Sections of Each Case Description: |
|---|---|
| A. Program needs and identification of needs | A. Setting |
| B. Mission and objectives | B. Outcomes<br>1. Goals of program<br>2. Benefits to learners |
| C. Historical precedents/antecedents | C. Process<br>1. Program planning<br>2. Methods of teaching/learning<br>3. Improvement, evaluation, staff-training<br>4. Participation, marketing |
| D. Cultural/societal considerations | D. Inputs for operation of program<br>1. Participants<br>2. Needs<br>3. Staff<br>4. Content<br>5. Finances<br>6. Facilities<br>7. Other |
| E. Principal players/facilitators | E. Evolution, history |
| F. Operational considerations | F. Influences that affect(ed) the program |
| G. Evaluation standards | G. Other |
| H. Influences and Impact | |
| I. Program chapter author's perspectives | |

### 1.4 Selected Case Studies

To use a different cultural background for the additional analysis six case studies from third world countries were selected*:

Tanzania: (Aida Isinika): Training for rural development - governmental program.

Nigeria (Clement N. Anyanwu): Community education in Nigeria - Guinea Worm Eradication Program - Ministry of Health.

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* These studies will be cited in the following text with the first two letters of the country-name and the page-number given by Knox.

India (E. P. Burns): Hayden Hall: A Comprehensive Community Development Approach with programs in food, health care, basic adult education.

Cameroon (J.A. Nyemba): Agricultural Extension Programs in Cameroon - governmental program.

Ghana (Joe K. Ansere): Ghana Modular Programme: Distance study program for teachers.

Saudi Arabia (Al Rasheed/Al Sunbul): Illiteracy eradication and adult education by a royal nationwide program 1970-1985

Here is not the space to report details of these programs: I take directly Charters/Hiltons six "reiterated themes" and look for confirming and contradicting statements in the third world case studies. To understand contradictions I look for possible methodological pitfalls and interpretations regarding the extended database.

## 2. Comparison of "reiterated themes"

### 2.1 Theme 1: "High moral standards with low defined objectives"

The third world case studies also offer passionate statements of lofty intentions: The Saudi-Arabia-study cites Mohamed "Seek knowledge from cradle to grave" (SA 9), the Nigeria-study wants "citizen enlightenment" (NI 5) and claims the "transition from tradition to modernity" (NI 18), and the India-study has "human development as overall goal" (IN 2). This confirms the conclusion of Charters/Hilton.

But there are also statements which are difficult to classify and evaluate: "helping villagers improve their quality of life" (TA 3), "to promote better living for the whole community" (NI 3), "empowering and helping the villagers ... become more self-confident and self-reliant" (IN 2) - do these statements proclaim "high moral standards" or do they describe concrete objectives? This decision is a subjective interpretation and has to do with the connotation of phrases. Certainly native English speakers will do this interpretation easier. But: The native language of most of the authors (in Charters book 6 out of 8) is not English. So what sounds like a clear statement to a native English speaker is possibly meant by the author with a different connotation. This pitfall of comparative work always has to be regarded when written documents are the database.



In contradiction to Charters/Hilton all case studies here additionally analyzed offer many clear objectives and utilitarian goals: "the usual materialistic gain should be considered" (SA 4), "focussed on increased agricultural production and a higher income level" (TA 4), "improve coffee or cotton production" (CA 4), "improve the primary health" (NI 8), and the Distance Study Teachers Program in Ghana is justified: "teacher continue to contribute to the economy by working and paying taxes while at the same time they are studying" (GH 3).

How to explain this difference? One explanation is, that rich western countries can afford lofty and humanistic programs, while there, were people struggle for life, programs have to give basic and concrete help. But that interpretation does not probe true: "Landmark programs" like Cooperative Extension or the German Volkshochschule also give basic and concrete help and are by far not limited to non-utilitarian humanistic topics. So an other explanation for this discrepancy has to be offered. Perhaps Charters/Hiltons selection of their sample has produced an artefact: The majority of their landmark programs are multifunctional, offering a variety of courses. But the program descriptions from third world countries are mostly monofunctional: either health, or farming, or reading. It is not unlikely that describing a multifunctional program seduces authors to focus more on general aims. Compared to these "passionate statements" counting up the many well existing concrete objectives seem the authors to small - and are left out. Classical test theory has dealt a lot with the pitfalls and biases produced by the sampling process; this example shows, that criteria developed in the quantitative research tradition can also be useful in qualitative comparative research.

Based on both databases and the methodological reflections I would offer an extended interpretation to the described observations: The authors of the program descriptions see the concrete measures in their programs overwhelmingly related to an educational philosophy with high moral standards.

### 2.2 Theme 2+3: "Inspirational faith in learner and adult education enterprise with low evaluation methodology"

Charters/Hilton carefully and willingly elected "landmark"-programs. A criterion for their selection was: "Each was judged - often by both contemporaries and later observers - to have been successful ..." (5). They wanted successful programs - and their eight authors offered them program descriptions with statements of success. No wonder they can summarize: "None of these programs were built upon modest aims, And yet none of their authors seemed to expect aught but success" (195). What else could be expected in "landmark-programs"?

Charters/Hilton thoroughly do not attempt to generalize beyond their sample. But this statement is only then more than a circle-definition when it can be generalized. To avoid the classical validity-pitfall "selection" - it is not possible to generalize from a selected sample to the unselected population - the non-landmark-database of Knox was interesting.

At first a lot of confirming statements can be presented, confirming the faith in the adult learner and the adult education enterprise: "enormous benefit for the individual and the society" (SA 7), "villagers learn from each others experience" (TA 11), "the influence of the program is in every way spectacular" (NI 22), "enthusiastic participation" (NI 5), "This is a program that is making a real difference in the lives of thousands of people in a neglected corner of the world" (IN 4).

But critical statements can also be found. The author of the Cameroon study states, that farmers had bad experience with extension programs, and that a literature review gives no clear statements of increase. Also the distance study program (Ghana) reports disappointment, and the Saudi Arabia study reports drop out problems. Here in this non-landmark-database we find clear limitations of the "inspirational faith" (195) Charters stated. But still the positive statements are overwhelming.

To explain this the following interpretation may be offered: When you ask somebody to write about a program of his/her choice - as Knox did - it is likely that he/she chooses a program that is worth reporting: a successful program. That does not mean that authors are unable to see failure. And it does not mean that all programs are successful. Certainly most of the existing programs are successful, because other programs disappear quickly





from the market. So this positive image of most program descriptions could be explained by the selection through the authors and the "sustainability" (also derived from classical test theory) of successful programs.

Another observation of Charters/Hilton is interesting: In their landmark programs they find "a curious acceptance of the efficacy of these programs without a restless searching after supportive data upon which to draw conclusions" (172) and "evaluative judgements, in which objectives, objective data, and even ... subjective data are almost unnoted" (173).
Also here our database shows differences: Partly it supports Charters/Hilton, as far as the type of systematic school-like control and measurement are not to be found. But a lot of other control and evaluation statements are made: "production had increased threefold ... shift in leadership style from a directive to a more participatory type ... increased attendance in village meetings ... in general more villagers appeared to be taking initiative and responsibility to solve those problems that are within their control" (TA 7f). "Continuous evaluation has been key to the success of the TRD program" (TA 15). "Out of the twelve wells projected ... nine are now ready and functioning. ... The people ... have learnt to boil and filter (water) ... More importantly, they have grown to disabuse their minds of the age-old belief that the guinea worm disease is an act of God" (NI 22). And the India study reports a drastic change of the program after a several months lasting evaluation. So evaluation indeed is a topic in the case studies here additionally analyzed, but in a different way than in traditional research oriented programs.

But three of our programs explicitly claim more evaluation - always in the context of critical statements: The less successful Cameroon program complains about the missing systematic measurement (CA 5), the only limited successful distance study program for teachers claims a "full-scale evaluation" (GH 9), and the Saudi Arabia study wants more information for evaluation.

Trying to understand these observations - and by this interpreting them - two explanations seem possible:

1. The need for evaluation seems to arise when programs are not successful. This could explain why Charters/Hilton in their by "landmark" definition successful programs meet so little evaluation.
2. Adults decide voluntarily to participate in programs. When they get

what they want (=successful program), they stay, otherwise they leave. This basic mechanism in adult education makes evaluation different to what it is in the traditional school system. Perhaps a statement like the following could fulfil the function of a typical adult education "evaluation": "The appreciation (of this program) is being shown by the people opting to beautify the project sites (wells) with flowers and shade trees" (NI 15). But which classical trained evaluator evaluates a sentence like this as being the evaluation?

### 2.3 Theme 4: "Lack of concern for system"

A fourth common theme Charters/Hilton describe as "lack of concern for system" (196). "Program flexibility and autonomy are highly valued and protected" (186). Repeatedly statements are made that it is important "adapting program methods to changes in participation rather than expecting participants to make adaptions" (196).

Here again we find verification: "The majority of those teachers did not receive any training" (SA 14), the Tanzania-program has "no prescribed syllabus" (TA 19), and the India case study explicitly claims "non-formal education" (IN 1). Also here - as Charters/Hilton do - many statements about flexibility, openness, innovation were found.

But clearly there are also statements contradictory to Charters interpretation of "impressionistic needs identification", "global, sweeping objectives", "lack of concern of practicability". I do not mean routines near to the school-system as it is described in the Saudi-Arabia, the Ghana and the Cameroon study. I mean a well elaborated and - as I see it - a typical adult education "system": A lot of effort, planning, and systematic approach is put into the person-to-person level to make decisions and shared responsibility possible there. This system does not plan in the classical bureaucratic way from top to bottom, but plans planning-possibilities at the basis. As it is said in the Nigeria-study: "a new type of education ... that cannot be brought about at a stroke by administrative order ... (but) by organizing the people in groups to carry out what they have collectively realized to be desirable" (NI 19). The author of the India study describes systematic training efforts to increase the local credibility: "important part of the training emphasis is on staff development ... They are credible leaders and





powerful change agents within their own community" (IN 4). The Tanzania study describes: "all trainers must undergo a training of trainers ... the facilitator helps to guide the process of knowledge exchange and its application" (TA 14). This concern for flexibility on the person-to-person-level can be found in the Tanzania-study for example in the portrayal of the "team who are open, committed, cooperative and creative in helping to solve villagers problems" (TA 23).

"Facilitator" (TA 14), "grass-root-worker" (IN 4), "networks", and "dialogic principle" are labels that indicate a respective theoretical orientation. So my conclusion here is: Many authors describe a concern for a system that enables local decisions, often in interaction with the "participants" - better: partners.

### 2.4 Theme 5: "National trends and national goals"

As a fifth "pervasive theme" Charters/Hilton find, that "national trends and national goals are everywhere observed and frequently lie at the heart of most of these programs" (197).

Of course also the authors of the third world countries name historical data or national perspectives. But the authors put not much stress on this argument - even less when regarding that five of the six are governmental programs. Much more practical reasons - health, hunger - are named.

Perhaps this difference comes from the sampling method Charters/Hilton use: The authors of the landmark program descriptions were well aware that they presented their country within an international study. The Knox' case studies are mostly smaller in scale; in the different countries a "country coordinator" asked national colleagues to write cases studies so these authors did not feel obliged to represent their country.

So my thesis is: Ask authors to describe a nationwide program to be compared with programs in other countries - and you will find national trends and national goals. And ask them to describe just a program - and you will find much less national trends. If this is true, then the method of producing the database influences the result. Again we can draw a parallel to classical test-theory. There this bias is called "reactivity": The way a researcher stimulates his material influences the outcome.

Knox' material offers even proof for this thesis: Some authors used the

chance to send old papers presenting national systems. And immediately "national trends and national goals" appear: In the report about the Russian Znanie society we find statements as "progressive Russian scientists always regarded the work of educating the masses as their second calling" (SU 14), "Adult Education in Beijing Municipiality" describes: "Since the founding of New China 1949, the Chinese government has attached great importance to the improvement of the cultural and technical qualities of the working people" (6C/2). And the colleague describing "Czechoslovakian Adult Education" declares "education of the citizen as a builder of his socialistic homeland" as the main educational function of adult education (9A/16).

### 2.5 Theme 6: "Centrality of the learner"

The last theme identified by Charters/Hilton is "the centrality of the learners ... they are always the center of respect and affection, often the co-architects of their educational programs and destinies" (197).

Here is not much to comment or to criticise: The additional data confirm that observation. May be a further analysis could discriminate between "caring for the learners" (i.e. "Revision of curriculum to met the needs and desires of adult learners" - SA 16) and "caring with the learners" ("the learner does not have to internalize the new knowledge if it does not suit their needs" - TA 13). This respecting the adult learner as an adult person who is able to decide about his/her life - even when this learner has no GED and still believes in the divine ordination of a disease - seems to be a common basis of adult education experts in many countries.

## 3. Consequences

The starting thesis was: New publications in international comparative adult education offer a new level of comparative work. The attempt to confirm this new level led to consequences and results in three respects:

### 3.1 Material content results

On the material level of the "reassessing observations" in the enlarged database, tentatively the following interpretations of "world-wide commonalities" in adult education are offered:



- Authors of most of the studies describe adult education programs as an interaction between high moral standards and concrete needs.
- Most - but not all - authors describe programs positively. That may represent the reality of adult education programs as not successful programs disappear quickly from the market.
- Evaluation seems to be seen by most of the authors not as an formal outside activity but as an activity by the learners themselves.
- Many of the authors describe explicitly a concern for a systematic support of "grass-root" activities. "Think globally, act locally!" could best describe that best.
- The possible expectation, that third world programs are third class, "missionary style", or dependent from first world support can be clearly rejected. The case studies here analyzed are professional programs and descriptions, on the modern level of adult education theory and practice.

These results may not be very surprising - they more confirm what could be suspected on a national level.

### 3.2 Pitfalls of comparative methodology

More interesting this analysis led to the discussion of methodological categories and pitfalls well known in classical empirical research tradition (without pretending that the used sources got stuck in these pitfalls):

- Pitfall "language": It is typical for comparative studies on an international level that authors of documents, the scholar that analyzes these documents (and the reader of the analysis) speak different languages. Here lies a whole bundle of chances for misunderstanding and misinterpreting.
- Pitfall "selection": Because of the complexity of qualitative (verbal) data, the sample we use is for the most part fairly limited. By selecting the database, we can get similarities not typical for the unselected population.
- Pitfall "sustainability": During the progress of the research work observations drop out because not longer available. This drop out may have a systematic reason so that this systematic phenomena is no longer represented in our final database.

- Pitfall "interpretation": The same observation can be interpreted differently by different raters. Again the multidimensional qualitative material is susceptible to this pitfall. (Offering the database and the data used for a certain interpretation offers the chance of verification/falsification)
- Pitfall "reactivity": Research activity often influences the field we study, thus making our "results" an artefact of our research activity.

Methodological arguments often hurt researchers that spent months and months in the dirty and dusty research field, while the methodologist sits in his rocking-chair beside the fireplace. We have to be very careful not to spoil the readiness to do that difficult field work by claiming unrealistic methodological standards. On the other side: A methodological framework, researchers can refer to before and while working in the field, makes this work easier and more reliable - and perhaps encourages the readiness for research in this field.

### 3.3 Evaluative personal statements

Three final personal and emotional statements may reflect some of my introspections while working with this international material:

1. Reading the third word case studies and the landmark descriptions gave me the feeling of being a member of a big world-wide brother-/sisterhood. Again and again the descriptions and evaluations of the colleagues were so near to my own experiences that it was mind-boggling.
   But these similarities also gave me a latent feeling of distrust: Can adult education world-wide be so similar? Or does our looking to the field produce similarities which make us blind for all other adult education?
2. Comparative research on the international level seemed to me to be a creative, subjective, soft, intuitive art work with not much possibilities of interpersonal, methodological objectivity. After going through this process of analyzing, comparing, and criticising based on a rich set of data, and rediscovering the old pitfalls known from quantitative research tradition I feel we approach a more reliable and systematic methodological ground.
3. During that work I found it possible to build on material and methods elaborated by other scholars. While for other educational subdisciplines





this is standard since long this is pretty new for international comparative adult education. This means the beginning of a scientific community that builds on the previous work of scholars - and on the growing personal relationship between the researchers engaged in this field. That is part of what I consider a new level in international comparative adult education.

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